5: Brodrick--198 S-3 (1939) 1942 Laotians
136, 101, 563 Ethnic subgroups

"There are plenty of possible 'sites' over the other side of the frontier into Laos, for the Laotians are scattered and few. Their rude statues of the Enlightened One, all features and no face, have not invaded many of the anfractuosities in the hills of the country that they hardly own, so full is it of 'Khas', that is, 'wild men', or Moi."

6: Goudal--234-235 S-3 (1934) 1938 Laotians-1-2
186, 563

"As regards Annamite immigration into Laos, the following opinion was expressed by a highly placed Laotian, His Excellency the Tiao Phetsarath, Inspector of Political and Administrative Affairs in Laos, in the course of an interview published early in 1931 by France-Indochine:

The Laotians have no need of Annamite immigration, which is a source of expense and trouble for them. The Laotians have to give [235] way before the immigrants and abandon their institutions and customs. The immigrants should as a rule submit to Laotian laws and regulations, but in reality they do nothing of the kind, as Annamites in Laos live 'outside the laws', form 'a State within a State' and thus enjoy 'inadmissable privileges'. This state of affairs must have serious consequences in the future and will surely lead the Laotians to desert Laos and to cross over into Siam to join the great Thai family, which always gives a warm welcome to its blood brothers from across the river.

These statements are naturally denied by the Annamites, who assert that they have no feeling of hostility for the Laotians and have no desire to invade or conquer their territory. And in reality the avenues open to the Annamite immigrants are nowadays much more limited than is commonly believed. There are of course the mines and work on the roads and railways, but most of the workers so employed are essentially unstable

6: Goudal--234-235 S-3 (1934) 1938 Laotians-2
186, 563

and cannot really be considered as immigrants in the strict sense of the term. Only when the Annamites are allowed to grow rice in Laos will their emigration have any chance of development. Moreover they seem to form an element of stability and prosperity for Laos. (1)

1. Pham-Quynh: 'L'Immigration annamite au Laos', in France-Indochine, 27 March 1931."

7: Thompson--371 J-4 (no date) 1937 Laotians
116, 563, 661, 671, 177.67 France
636.67

"Nowadays the code of Vientiane or of Luang-Prabang is applied to the Thai peoples and to certain Kha tribes; Burmese custom law to the Lus in Muong Sing; and their particular customs to the other ethnical groups--all under magistrates of their own people. The judgments of these courts are examined by the French authorities. This is not a useless precaution, as often the judges themselves are in a quandary about interpreting their laws and traditions. Moreover, the venality of these judges passes all understanding. If the native appears without offerings appropriate to his station and that of the judge, he is lost. Undoubtedly with time the specialization of magistrates, with guarantees in salary and promotion, will obviate the most flagrant of these evils."

10: d'Orleans T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
563, 634, 721, 175. 72 Ethnic subgroups

[LSS: For the history of the family of Deo Van Tri, chief of the Lai district and for the history of the wars in the area of Laichau and Luang Prabang, see Indochina, category 116, pp. 204-209.]

10: d'Orleans--262 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 167, 484, 563 Ethnic subgroups

"We accept an offer from a Thai family encamped upon a sand bank, who invite us to warm ourselves at their fire. We begin to talk and find that our hosts were forcibly deported from the plain of Dien Bien, and that, after ten years' absence, they are returning to their home. They have a pirogue and a raft made of bamboos tied together, which carries their animals, fowls and pigs; we leave them after buying some cocoa-nuts which they have brought from the south."

10: d'Orleans--262-263 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 513, 563, 825 Ethnic subgroups

"Our men [LSS: Kha from Laos] lie down upon mats and this evinces a more advanced stage of civilisation than we have found amongst the Thaïs; in the middle of the night they suddenly jump up, [263] light a lamp and start in search of an animal, that has taken flight, to judge from their movements, though I do not see it. They afterwards explain their manœuvres; one of them had seen a long myriapod, which they were anxious to destroy, as it is a dangerous insect. They say, that when it crawls over the skin it leaves traces of its passage, in long red painful and unhealthy streaks. I do not know whether this assertion is true, but at all events, they seem much afraid of the insect."

10: d'Orleans--263-264 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 276, 301, 563, 777 Ethnic subgroups

"The boatmen [LSS: Kha from Laos] replace the waterpipe used on the Black River by the cigarette, which they put behind the ear after a few whiffs. They also chew betel. I remark that the majority of them wear a bracelet, made of two threads, on the right wrist. They tell us that it is a talisman--a kind of [264] luck charm, which is given to them when they leave their village to navigate or trade."

10: d'Orleans--266 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
563, 834 Ethnic subgroups

"...amongst the Thaïs of the Black River, the men never hesitate to strip themselves, and enter the water; but the women appear more reserved."

10: d'Orleans--275 [2] T-3
116, 463, 471, 556, 563

(1891-92) 1894

Laos
Ethnic subgroups

"...Our boatmen assemble round us. I talk to them, and they tell me that they are engaged upon the pirogues for the benefit of the owner (usually a Laotian), who stands at the helm. To them a boat represents a large capital; the one in which I travel is worth sixty-seven rupees. As a rule the owner trades with them, a pirogue can carry about thirty-six thengs (a theng weighs about thirty-four pounds). The boatmen are chiefly hired from among the Kas; "

10: d'Orleans--275 [3] T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 142, 302, 563 Ethnic subgroups

"...They [LSS: Kha boatmen, in the service of a Laotian] are of small size, with very dark complexions and narrow foreheads; their eyes are close together, but the cheekbones are not prominent; they wear their hair very short like the bristles of a brush."

10: d'Orleans--275-276 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 101, 173, 197, 563 Ethnic subgroups

"They [LSS: Kha boatmen, in the service of a Laotian.] are easily recognised as Laotians, but they appear inferior and weaker, though they are lively and prepossessing; they originally came from Ban Lasa (near Muong Ngoï), but they call themselves Khamouks, and count seven principal tribes of Kas; but their dialects differ, so that several of them cannot understand each other.

The Kasings (whose language approaches that of the Yaos).
The Khakos.
The Khabits. [276]
The Khakoos.
The Kahoks (who wear cotton drawers as their only garment).
The Khapaïs.
The Khamouks.

They say that they do not know anything of their history, but add: that the Laotians are their brothers, therefore the Kas had compassion upon them and retired to the mountains, leaving the plain and the young shoots of bamboo to them."

10: d'Orleans--276 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, ~~563~~, 583, 591, 764, 793 Ethnic subgroups

"Marriages are easily made amongst the Khamouks; the young man's parents give sixty rupees to the girl's father and mother. After the marriage feast, the bridegroom sleeps one night in his father-in-law's house, then takes his wife home with him.

The dead are buried and not burnt; there is no priest, no religious ceremonies, but the master of the house cuts a fowl's throat and the mourners rub their knees with his blood. The men generally follow one stage in the bonzeries. (1) After a few months they are little bonze or Siang, then grand bonze or Tit ; a man who has not made one stage is Ba."

1. I question whether this information does not apply more to the Laotians.

10: d'Orleans--276 [2]   T-3   (1891-92) 1894   Laos
116, 563, 577, 775   Ethnic subgroups

"I do not know whether our boatmen [LSS: Kha boatmen, in the service of a Laotian] have followed any religious courses, but they do not seem to trouble themselves about the future. One of them first tells me that he does not know what will happen in the other life; then he adds that he believes he shall return to this world as a man, if he shows mercy during his lifetime, that is if he gives rice to the dogs and cats, or performs any other charitable actions;if not his soul will pass into the body of an animal."

10: d'Orleans--277 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 563, 805 Ethnic subgroups

"The duration of time does not trouble them [LSS: Kha boatmen, in the service of a Laotian] either, they count the days like the Laotians, and their year consists of twelve lunar months of four weeks each, of which one contains eight days, at the end of a few years a month is intercalated. Dates escape them altogether. 'The old people know them,' they reply to our questions."

10: d'Orleans--277 [2] T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 124, 177, 192, 563, 802 Ethnic subgroups

"I am trying to make a lexicon of their [LSS: Kha boatmen, in the service of a Laotian] language; they answer us, but sometimes we have a great deal of trouble in hearing what they say, and particularly in separating the affixes or suffixes, with which they can surround the same word. I notice the absence of special names for certain classes of things; they have, no word for bread and the names of the numerals, except the four first, are borrowed from the Laotians; lastly mother is called ma, the word in general use amongst nearly all the peoples of the world, perhaps because it is the first sound that a newborn infant instinctively produces, when it requires food."

10: d'Orleans--277 [3] T-3 (1891-92) 1894
116, 202, 212, 533, 563, 802

Laos
Ethnic subgroups

"From their [LSS: Kha boatmen, in the service of a Laotian] own account, they have no special songs, but they use the Laotian music.

Writing is unknown to them; but they keep their accounts, or send their messages by means of small pieces of bamboo, marked with notches which are made at closer or longer intervals according to the signification that has been arranged. This is like our bakers' sticks. (1)

1. M. Harmand has found amongst the peoples of the south of Indo-China the same method of correspondence that Father Crabouillet discovered amongst the Lolos of Setchoun. (Cf. 'Note on the Writing of the Indo-Chinese Khas,' by M. P. Lefèvre-Pontalis, L'Anthropologie, Mars-Avril, 1892.)"

10: d'Orleans--277-278 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 276, 563 Ethnic subgroups

"Our men [LSS:Kha boatmen, in the service of a Laotian] smoke a wooden pipe, with a small bamboo stem, like those of our countries. [278] They light it with a steel and a wick made of fibres taken from the bark of a tree. They also smoke opium; Chinese caravans bring it to them raw, and they pay about a rupee for nearly three quarters of an ounce (twenty grammes), they cook it over the fire in a small copper cup. Three Laotians from Luang Prabang, who are also in the sala, devote themselves to the same work; they are merchants, who have come to buy rice. The apparatus ready and the lamps lighted, each man lies down and we go to bed."

10: d'Orleans--278-279 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 291, 302, 304, 563 Ethnic subgroups

"Here [LSS: in a village between Muong Ngoi and Luang Prabang in Laos] also we meet some Kas; the men have a piece of wood or a bouquet of flowers in the lobe [279] of the ear, which forms a large fleshy ring, and their legs are tattooed. The women wear a small embroidered jacket; a deep blue turban with embroidered fringes surrounds a chignon ornamented by two round silver plates, joined by a small chain; chaplets of transparent glass beads are wound round them. The natives allow us to photograph them."

10: d'Orleans--279		T-3	(1891-92) 1894		Laos
116, 522, 533, 563, 832					Ethnic subgroups

"They [LSS: Kha boatmen in the service of a Laotian] are in good spirits, and chat from one pirogue to the other, or sing in answer to the women, who are bathing at the water's edge. The men inquire if they are married, and invite them to follow them, in case their hearts are free. The songs, often improvised, are upon subjects referring to love. They also try to frighten the buffaloes that, half hidden in the water, only show their back and the head which they hold horizontally; but the great stupid animals pay no attention to the shouts, they let us pass, contemplating us with an air of fatalistic resignation; but they do not move. In the evening our boatmen ask permission to go to the village. We grant it and follow them, however a few are left behind to keep watch over the pirogues."

10: d'Orleans--281 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 262, 563 Ethnic subgroups

"Watching our boatmen [LSS: Kha boatmen in the service of a Laotian] would be sufficient to occupy us, for they are a very interesting study; their chief pre-occupation is to point out some game to us, and with this aim they search the banks with their eyes. The steersman seems particularly fond of hunting, and he is doubly keen upon it now, for he has all the men to feed, so he is not at all sorry to give them some monkey flesh or a few birds, which do not cost him anything."

10: d'Orleans--281-282 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 262, 522, 563 Ethnic subgroups

"Our men, [LSS: Kha boatmen in the service of a Laotian] have one resource, which I cannot make up my mind to try; they have picked up a kind of cricket on the banks, and after amusing themselves by making it chirp as they hold it between [282] two fingers, they throw it into the saucepan, and eat it stewed."

10: d'Orleans--282 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 354, 563 Ethnic subgroups

"We all remain talking in the sala. Some candles have been made of yellow wax (sold in disks), which the men [LSS: Kha boatmen in the service of a Laotian] roll round a cotton wick by rubbing them both between their hands; the light is good."

10: d'Orleans--289-290 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 133, 441, 501, 563

"Lower down,[LSS: at Luang Prabang] lying against the river bank itself, immense rafts, real houses of thirty to forty yards long, carry stocks of merchandise and of various commodities, regularly [290] stacked one above the other. Chinamen live in these floating establishments.

The bank only rises some fifteen yards, and the shallow water scarcely hides a few sandbanks, while the calm powerful river flows on in a muddy stream more than 400 yards wide."

10: d'Orleans--302 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 101, 162, 563

"The inhabitants [LSS: of Luang Prabang] are Kas, Laotians, Lus and Meos, while there are also a few Chinese traders and shopkeepers. The Kas, divided into seven tribes, according to the information obtained by Holt, Hallett and Neis, are four times more numerous than the Laotians."

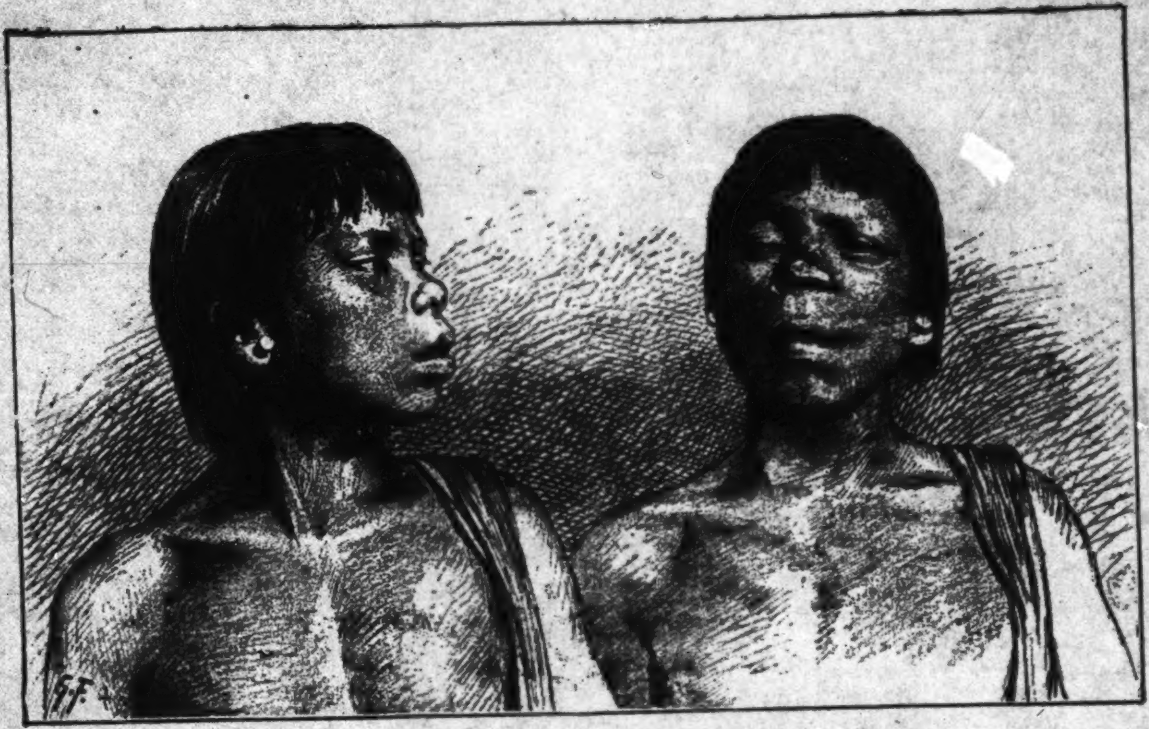
10: d'Orleans--302 -305 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 142, 291, 302, 563 Ethnic subgroups

"For the most part of small stature, (1) the Kas are very dark in complexion and of

1. Those whom we measured averaged about five feet two inches; the women being smaller.

the same colour all over the body. Their legs are as a rule thin and their stomachs protuberant; the nose broad and flat; the eyes rather elongated; the lips thick and the jaw prominent, while the forehead is narrow and receding. The facial angle seems to indicate that they belong to an inferior race, and, as a matter of fact, they look like savages by the side of the Laotians. These Kas have long, straight hair falling over the forehead, in some cases tied together by a strip of cloth, or else plastered on the top of the head and fastened at the back in a chignon. The men wear a large ring in the lobe of the ear and fill up the interstice with a piece of wood, [pages 303 and 304 contain illustration] [305] or a bunch of flowers. Their dress, as a rule, consists only of a sheet, that is to say of a piece of blue cloth passing between the legs and fastened round the waist, the women wearing a turban, a loose vest, and a short petticoat."

10: d'Orleans--303 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 291, 302, 563 Ethnic subgroups



KHAMOUKS, (FULL AND SIDE FACE), LUANG PRABANG.

10: d'Orleans--305 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 147, 157, 463, 563, 609 Ethnic subgroups

"The Kas of Luang Prabang appear to be very shy, and I could not induce them, even by the promise of presents, to let me photograph them, the only means by which I succeeded being an order from the Siamese Colonel, while, when brought up, they were so intimidated that I could count their pulses beating at more than eighty to the minute. When walking in the streets they proceed as if they were afraid that some one was going to hurt them, and, being more laborious if less educated than the Laotians, they are employed by the latter to fashion the metals, to look after the stock and to cultivate the soil, so that they fill much the same part that the Lacædemonians of old did, except that they are not so badly used."

10: d'Orleans--305-306 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos-1-2
116, ~~563~~, 567, 721

"In former times the men of the conquering race made inroads into the Kas villages and carried off a number of the inhabitants as slaves, the males being seized in preference to the females, while with the people of the plain the reverse was the case. Now the king has abolished slavery in theory, though in reality it still exists; (1) but the armed raids are not of frequent occurrence. Here, as is the case with certain European nations upon the coast of Africa, who claim [306] to be fighting the battle of liberty, the term forced labour is substituted for slavery, because it sounds better. I do not wish to criticise the generous sentiments which humanitarian ideas have evoked against slavery, but I am inclined to ask myself whether, taking everything into account, this condition is not often preferable for the people of the inferior races to liberty without the means of livelihood.

I was talking with a young slave who had been purchased by the mother-in-law of one of our interpreters. and he did not seem at all desirous of being freed. His parents, too

---

1. Slavery as practised upon the Kas is regarded as legal among the Laotians; a father who is poor and has a large family, often sells one or two of his sons, at the rate of fifteen rupees if they are very young, and of from twenty to forty for adults. They are then employed as boatmen.

10: d'Orleans--305-306 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos-2
116, 563, 567, 721

poor to support him, had sold him, he was well-fed and happy with his masters, and asked for nothing better."

10: d'Orleans--316 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 175, 197, 241, 511, 563 Ethnic subgroups

"In speaking of the inhabitants of the principality of Luang Prabang, I referred to the Lus, the Meos and the Chinese, and a few words must be said about all three.

The first mentioned strike me as being, from an ethnographical point of view, very similar to the Laotians, whose language they speak, with a few slight differences of dialect, but they are smaller, punier and in a more poverty-stricken state. We saw one of their villages, just behind Luang Prabang, and its poverty was the most salient feature about it. Coming originally from Sibsompanas, where they form the principal element of the population, they have been driven south by Chinese wars and invasions, and several of them told me that they had not the means of returning home. Moreover, they are just as well off where they are, for, like the Kas, they cultivate the soil, planting rice fields for the Laotians."

10: d'Orleans--316 [2] T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 291, 302, 563 Ethnic subgroups

"Their clothing [LSS: the Lu of Luang Prabang] is very poor compared with that of the latter, [LSS: the Laotians] the men wearing short blue trousers and the women, striped petticoats, the latter having their hair drawn up in a chignon at the top of the head, covered in many cases with a dark blue scarf, while both sexes wear a loose blue vest."

10: d'Orleans--319   T-3   (1891-92) 1894   Laos
116, 563, 583, 591, 764   Ethnic subgroups

[LSS: Among the Meo of Luang Prabang] "The marriages are arranged by the parents, a young girl being rated at 36 rupees and taken, as soon as she is married, to the house of her husband. The bodies of the defunct are interred three days after death."

10: d'Orleans--319 [2] T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 439, 563 Chinese

"With regard to the few Chinese, they form a colony apart at Luang Prabang, devoting their energies to the trade in rice, salt and European fancy goods brought from Bangkok, no caravans from the Yunnam coming this far."

10: d'Orleans--322 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 563

[LSS: in Luang Prabang] "We made the acquaintance of the Siamese colonel and of the commandant. The former, attired in a small white jacket, blue silk trousers, helmet, stockings and shoes, is a man of considerable intelligence,and very pleasant in his manner. The Prah Pa La Sa Da (abbreviated into Prah Sada), or chief over a thousand, has been decorated by the French Government. . ."

10: d'Orleans--325-326 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 301, 563, 697

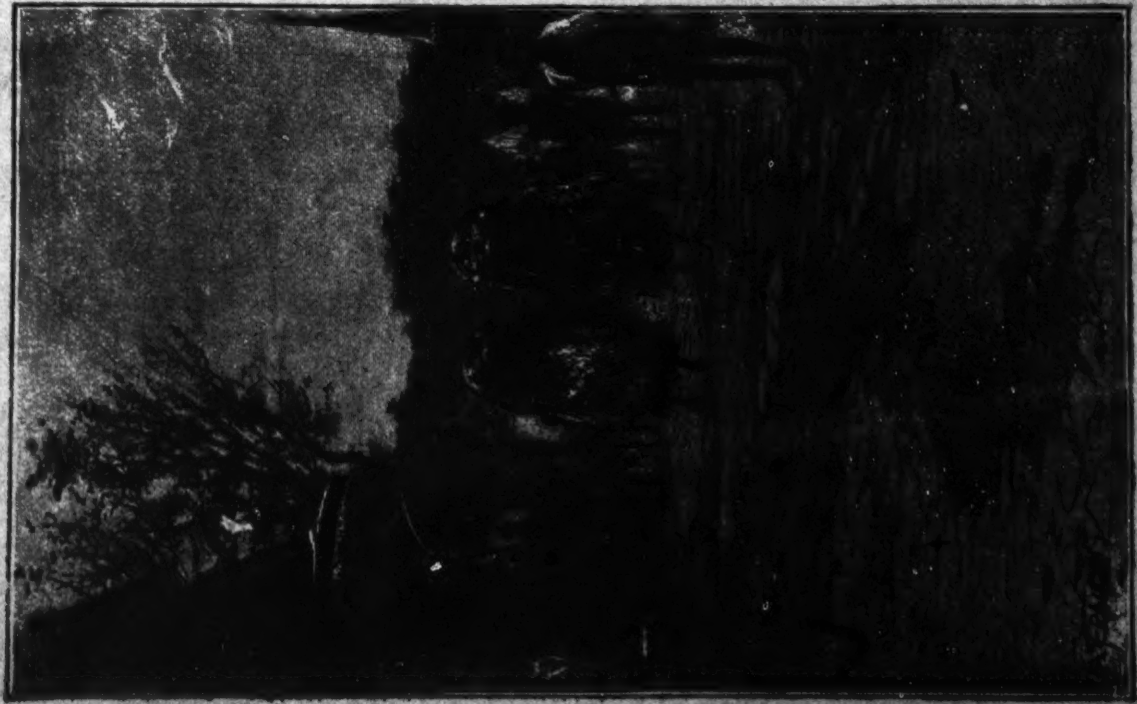
[LSS: in Luang Prabang] "It is a strange crowd, [326] and among the component parts of it are young girls bare to the waist, with a smile upon their lips, their arms encircled by several gold bracelets, and with a gardenia in their hair; while beside them, perchance looking much more frail and humble, is a Ka woman with a turban upon her head and a basket on her back, fastened by a piece of leather going round her forehead. Then there are groups of Kas, ten or twelve together, who walk about with a timid, startled look, and try to dodge my photographic apparatus. Following these, perhaps, is a convoy of prisoners, wearing black gaiters to avoid the friction of the rings in their chains, behind them being the Siamese soldiers, who have silk trousers, linen vest and felt hat. Their aspect and bearing denote the *parvenu*, and they display all the insolence of new masters, contrasting with the calm, dignified air of the portly bonzes, who, robed in yellow and escorted by their young pupils, proceed with measured and self-satisfied tread.

There is little sign of hurry in the crowd, and it is as much as they can do to move out of the way to let a royal elephant or the vehicle which is conveying a Minister to the Royal Council Chamber go by."

10: d'Orleans--329 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 439, 458, 563

[LSS: in Luang Prabang] "It is the Chinese who import and sell the goods from Siam or the Western Shan States, there being four traders in European articles. One of these is a French protégé, who tells me that he has brought his stock of goods from Bangkok by Pitchaï. When he goes down, he takes with him from Luang Prabang ivory, for which he pays about 5s. a pound, and benzoin which costs him about a rupee per lb. Last year, the price of these articles was very nearly double, and the trader tells me that a pair of fine stag's horns is worth about thirty rupees, a smaller pair fetching a third of that price. He adds that business is very bad, and that it is as much as he can do to make both ends meet."

10: d'Orleans--349 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 527, 535, 563 Ethnic subgroups



NEW YEAR DANCES AT OUATE SIENG TONG, LUANG PRABANG.

10: d'Orleans--360
116, 441, 563, 177.44
636.44

T-3

(1891-92) 1894

Laos
France

"The trade of Laos, like that of the greater part of Siam, is carried on by the Chinese, who form a sort of freemasonry among one another against the foreigner and are constantly pushing forward their advance posts. Masters of the Customs, more intelligent, more hard working, more temperate and more rapacious than the Siamese, they constitute the commercial class, and they have a way of insinuating themselves into the secrets of the natives and transferring their money into their own pockets which we neither could nor would wish to imitate. Our task is a higher one, and it consists, upon the one hand, in undertaking and carrying out such enterprises in the way of mining as I have described above, and upon the other in supplying the native or Chinese middlemen with the raw material and with our national goods upon as reasonable terms as English or German merchandise."

10: d'Orleans--369-370 T-3 (1891-92) 1894 Laos
116, 342, 361, 563, 712

"We reach Paklay. The river here is broad with sand-banks on either side and water just covering the top of the rocks. The village is situated on the right bank. The piles which support the houses are hid by a net-work of bamboo, arranged also to shut in the animals. A fairly clean hut is set apart for us, as we are to stay here for a day. The Siamese lieutenant has ordered our elephants, but we cannot have them before to-morrow, so I employ a part of the day in taking photographs. The town, if so it may be [370] called, is not large, having 780 inhabitants, including women and children. The Siamese garrison is made up of eighty men, and is shifted every three years. The lieutenant lives in one half of a rather large house, and the other half is occupied by Chinese merchants."

26: Brodrick--60[5] S-3 (1939) 1944 Laotians
116, 439, 563

"What trade exists is in the hands of Shan and Chinese merchants who are also middlemen for the hill-rice and other products of the 'Khas' or 'savage' tribes of the jungle."

28: Crawfurd -219-220 G-3 (1821) 1830 Laotians
116, 101, 131, 563 Éthnic subgroups

"The Kariang, the Lawá, the Ká, and the Chong, are wild and migratory races. The first and second of these are the same people who inhabit various portions of the Burman dominions. They are confined to the mountainous parts of Lao. The Ká, a term which in the [220] Siamese language means slave, but who are called by the Kambojans, Panong, inhabit the mountains of Lao, bordering upon Kamboja."

34: Thompson--168[2]　J-4　(no date)1947　Laotians
116, 563, 463, 181

"This fear and dislike [P.H.: of the Annamese] is also felt by Cambodia's northern neighbors, the Laotians, who are even less able to resist Annamite infiltration. The Laotians do not appear to share the capabilities of their relatives in Siam and resemble the Cambodians in regard to farming and industrial incompetence. Although they are less talented as craftsmen, they are more skillful as boatmen and as merchants. Under sympathetic tutelage, however, they have shown some ability in forestry and even in mining.'"

175* to extricate only the following steps in the life of the principality:

1. The founding of the capital by two Buddhist hermits "who came from the plateaus where the great source of the Mé-Nam-Kong in born" and who went down the river and stopped where it is joined by the Nam-Khane, charmed by the hills which were reflected in it and the main peak of which flamed with all the scarlet flowers "of a gigantic tree, the Kok-Thong, /36/ 107 fathoms high and seven in circumference." The city, which was first called Ban Lan-Swa, was later given the names Xieng-Thong (in memory of the flaming tree), then Xieng-Dong (from the name of the river which bounds it downstream on the Mékong) and finally Xieng-Dong-Xieng-Thong

2. The Kmer domination which doubtless followed on Chinese suzerainty with the Kha leaders born of "Pra Rothisen" who came from Angkor and of Néang-Kangrey, the daughter of a native prince; the names of these two ancestors were given to the hills which face Luang-Prabang and whose graceful lines curiously evoke the forms of two reclining bodies;

3. The arrival of the Thaïs who came out of Muong-Theng's gourd, drove out the Khas and seized the territory; Khoun-Lo, at the head of a formidable army, is supposed to have appeared suddenly at Pak-Ou, to have forced the king Khoun-Kan-Hang to flee towards the Nam-Ta after a bloody combat, and to have reduced to slavery those of his subjects who were not able to follow their leader or gain the highest mountains.

175* The various Kha tribes, henceforth scattered, broken up into
563 small groups with no connection between them, deprived of common interests and speaking different dialects, fell back /37/ /C. A. M. Translator's note. Page 37 is devoted to an illustration: "Hills of Xieng-Mène at Luang-Prabang."/ /38/ upon themselves and opposed the invader with a force of absolute inertia, thereby preserving themselves for many long centuries from contamination by other populations. Their present-day descendants, moreover, have not lost all of their original traditions. They are fully conscious of their antiquity and say not without some scorn, that "the peoples who are newcomers in Indo-China are only their younger brothers" (1);

---

1. Cf. L de Reinach, op cit. /Le Laos, 1911/, pp. 126 and 127. Another version, one which is candid and much more peaceable, relates the settlement of the Thaïs in Muong-Swa as follows: "When the Thaïs asked the Khas to go and live on the mountain the latter refused, and in

order to prove that they had arrived first they pointed to a rattan basket which was placed at the top of a tree and intertwined with the highest branches. That evening the Thaïs chose a higher tree and placed their oldest basket at the top of it. The following morning they showed it to the Khas, whose simple minds were convinced by the subterfuge and who yielded the spot." 175* 563

4. The establishment of the Thaï dynasty of Khoun, which at first preserved close ties with Cambodia and perhaps also with China following the Mongol invasions, and whose 23rd representative, Phaya-Kham-Phong, reigned in 1316.

The chronological list, as complete as possible, of the chieftains who ruled over the region before this latter date may be drawn up in the following manner: 175* 643*

/39/ 1. Phaya-Nan-Tha (from Ceylon?).

2. Phaya-Inthapatha (from Cambodia) who is said to have married the above chieftain's widow.

3. Thao-Phou-Tha-Saine, son of the foregoing.

4. Phaya-Ngou-Lueum, son of the foregoing.

5. Thao-Phe-Si, son of the foregoing.

6. Ay-Saleukheuk, son of the foregoing.

7. Ay-Tiet-Hai, son of the foregoing.

8. Thao-Tiantha-Phanit, a simple "betel merchant" who came from Vientiane miraculously covered with gold and magnificent cloth and who struck wonder into the people of Xieng-Dong-Xieng-Thong. When elected king he used his wealth to beautify the city. He built the first pagoda of Xieng-Thong and the "that" on the Phou-Si (1).

(1). The group of religious structures which today bears the name of Xieng-Thong is said to date from 1561. (H. Parmentier, Inventaire des monuments du Laos.) With its graceful annexes and its neo-Burmese gate, it is numbered among the greatest successes of Laotian architecture. /346/

9. Khoun-Swa, a Kha chieftain.

10. Khoun-Ngiba, son of the above.

11. Khoun-Viligna, son of the above.

12. Khoun-Kan-Hang, son of the above, under whose reign the Thaï invasion took place.

565 The common people, kind and carefree in character, roamed
175* over the country in all directions as easy-going masters, leaving
/462/ household tasks to the women and the work of the fields to dependents
of an inferior race or to slaves. They were excellent boatmen and
traders rather than farmers, so that they liked to perform the function
of peddlers and served as a link between the multiple /55/ varieties
of mankind which inhabited Lan-Xang.

567 Slavery existed--slaves could be obtained through capture, as
175* the result of debt or through trade--and brought high profits to those
563 who engaged in this traffic. In the region of Muong-Swa there was
also a kind of serfdom which was applied to certain Kha tribes placed
under the patronage of the king, the princes or the chief representatives
of the nobility.

565 But if we consider the gentle and happy temperament of this
175* people whose good humor made up for everything, we are justified
in believing that the relations between the various social levels must
have been free of any harshness.

191 They spoke a dialect derived from the language which was imported
into the basin of the Ménam by Rama Khamheng at the end
of the thirteenth century and which was itself derived from the
771 graphs of India (1). They practiced orthodox Buddhism together
793
with the cult of the "Phi" or Genii which represented for them the
beneficent or maleficent forces of Nature. The bonzes were of
comparatively pure morals amidst these peoples for whom enjoyment
and pleasure were, when /56/ all is considered, the true gods. Although
they were fairly ignorant and recited their prayers in Pali
/782/ without understanding them, they did not lack a certain air of
nobility. They also enjoyed a high regard and had as much favor
as they could desire. The bonzeries[1] which were built near the pagodas
were at once places of inviolable asylum, schools frequented by all
the children of the village, and workshops where trades could be
learned.

---

554 1. Cf. Mission Pavie, op. cit. /Études diverses, Vol. II, "Recherches sur l'Histoire du Cambodge du Laos et du Siam"/ Inscription of Sukhothaï translated by Father Schmitt, p. 192: "It was in (1287 A. D.) that the king Rama-Khameng summoned a teacher who created Thaï writing."

/[1] Buddhist Monasteries--Analyst./

to Chao-Noi to deliver the fugitive up to him as soon as he entered 648*
Chao-Noi's States. 175*

The only alternative was an unpleasant one for the king of Xieng-Khouang, who doubtless regretted, although somewhat tardily, that he had not given more support to his neighbor when there was perhaps still time. To give Anou up would be to expose himself to reprisals from their common suzerain the emperor of Annam, while to conceal his presence in his domain was surely to draw down the immediate wrath of Siam.

Captivity and death of Anou (1831-1835). Losing his head, he 727
met the most immediate threat by arresting Anou and holding him 643*
prisoner in /176/ Muong-Soui until the arrival of the Siamese en- 175*
voy, a Lu chieftain named Chao-Nan (1). The vanquished king was put in golden chains and sent on a richly caparisoned elephant to Bangkok, where he found a luxurious prison which had been prepared to receive him (1831). He remained there for four years and died in circumstances which have remained mysterious (2).

Destruction of the kingdom of Vientiane. Siam made an ordi- 727
nary Siamese province out of the old kingdom of Vientiane, a kind 175*
of military frontier land which it called "Lao Phoueun." It would /642/

---

1. Up until the end of the eighteenth century the Lus formed /563/
an important group in the kingdom of Xieng-Kheng. Their /636/
chieftain, the Chao-Fa, who was then a tributary of Burma, had his residence at Muong-Sing. After Phia-Tak's victories over the Burmese, certain Lu families served the Siamese while others dispersed in the mountains of Luang-Prabang and Xieng-Mai and the Chao-Fa settled in Muong-You to remain under the protection of the king of Burma. See below, Chapter VIII, p. 331 (question of the Sip-Song-Panas), and 355.

2. Cf. Captain de Pelacot, op. cit. /"Le Tran-Ninh historique." Revue indochinoise, Hanoi, 1896. / Some accounts claim that he poisoned himself. Mgr. Pallegoix relates that he was placed in an iron cage and exposed to the insults of the populace, and that he succumbed to the bad treatment which he had to endure.

devoted to an illustration: "Junction of the Nam-Khane and the 643*
Mekong at Luang-Prabang." --Translator/ /183/ whom he had 595
chosen in Luang-Prabang itself from the families of his mandarins. 175*

KHAMONE-NOI, KING 1726-1727.

Khamone-Noi succeeded him and took as wives two of the dead /595/
king's daughters, Thene-Sao and Thene-Kham. But Intha-Som at 175*
once began to agitate. Not daring to hope that the family of the 669
Sip-Song-Panas would lend him aid against one of its children, he 643*
addressed himself to some newcomers to the land who had been 563
infiltrating for some time into the valley of the Nam-Ou. These /167/
were the "Mousseux," mountainfolk driven out of Yunnan by the
religious wars (1). Although their temperament was not at all warlike, these fugitives nevertheless agreed, since they had no choice, 721
to lend their aid to Intha-Som. In return the latter promised their 643*
leaders La-Nga and Noli that he would recognize and confirm their 175*
occupation of Muong-Yo and Boun-Neua as soon as he became king. 669
563

Submission of Intha-Som (1726). But the Mousseux (2), although they were supported by Nha-No- /184/ Muong of Muong-La, failed in their march on Luang-Prabang and Intha-Som had no other recourse than to make his submission. He gave up his weapons, took an oath of obedience and fidelity in the pagoda of Xieng-Thong, and was given permission to live in the capital, where he settled near the Vat-Visoun with a large retinue of Mousseux.

He was quite determined not to keep his word. The king, moreover, was not at all worried and did not even have him watched.

---

1. Violent Moslem rebellions were then devastating southern China.

2. The word "Mousseux" is the word which most nearly approaches the native appellation. With their slender fig- /142/
ures, their rather white coloration, their prominent cheekbones and their well-shaped and not flattened noses, the "Mousseux" type has a greater affinity with the Indo-European type than with the yellow race type.

643* capture later on in a return offensive (1).
175*

1. The Annals also state that two of his grandsons, Tia-Oun and Tiao-Thep, came and settled in Luang-Prabang during the wars which followed.

INTHA-SOM, KING 1727-1776.

643* Having attained his ends, Intha-Som had himself solemnly
587 crowned and married Khamone-Noi's wives. Only Thene-Sao seems
175* to have raised any objections to accepting her new husband. At
first she refused categorically, then proposed the condition that the
/428/ first son whom she should bear should inherit the succession. Intha-Som agreed and all was arranged.

648* In the following year he received a mission from the Sip-Song-
643* Panas, whose leader, Pha-No-Muong of Muong-La, explained to
175* him that his master had to pay China a tribute of two elephants /189/
563 which he had not been able to procure in his territory and which he
begged his neighbor to be so kind as to furnish him.

Intha-Som had too many obligations towards this prince not to present them to him gratis, but he profited by the occasion in order to inform the envoys of the trouble being caused him by his former allies, the "Mousseux," who, according to him, were mistreating the inhabitants of the region and against whom he was powerless precisely by reason of the services which they had rendered him before his accession to the throne. Could not the embassy from the Sip-Song-Panas ask the emperor of China to recall these people to their homes (1)?

1. Intha-Som's grounds for complaint against the "Mousseux" seem rather improbable if we may judge of them by their present-day descendants, who are gentle, out-going and hospitable. Patriarchal in their mores, they had fled the insurrections in Yunnan and were then seeking in Laotian territory only the tranquillity which they could not find in their own land. We are therefore justified in seeing in Intha-Som's accusations against them a mark of the spirit of ingratitude and duplicity which he manifested in many circumstances of his troubled life.

Pha-No-Muong agreed to transmit this wish to Pekin, but observed that ambassadors who could speak directly in the name of the

king of Luang-Prabang could make themselves heard more effec- 648*
tively than he himself could. 643*
175*

/190/ First mission to China (1729). Intha-Som recognized 563
the truth of this bit of advice and in 1729 charged Phya-Muong-
Khoua, Phya-Mune and Phya-Sivongsa to go to the emperor of /431/
China, deliver two elephants to him as a gift and ask him to recall the Mousseux.

After a long voyage the mission reached Pekin without any untoward happening. They were welcomed most courteously and the Chinese government promised to give satisfaction, but only on condition that the king of Luang-Prabang should continue to send a pair of elephants every five years. An agreement was reached on this basis and the ambassadors brought back to Luang-Prabang the assurance that the Mousseux would be invited to return to their own country (1).

1. The viceroy of "Muong-Se-Luong" received orders to recall all the Mousseux to China. The orders must have been carried out rather ineffectively, for today the Mousseux still form an important group in the region of Muong-Sing.

Second mission to China (1734). A second mission also led by 648*
Phya-Muong-Khoua left five years later to deliver the promised 175*
tribute, but on their way encountered bands of robbers called /579/
"White Flags" who forced them to fall back /191/ on Muong-La. Phya-No-Muong placed an escort of five hundred men at their disposition and sent word to the Chinese governor of Yunnan-Sen who also sent out a detachment at once to disperse the pirates. The latter's leaders were finally captured and handed over to the emperor's delegate. The ambassadors were then able to fulfill their mission and returned to Luang-Prabang laden with gifts for their king (1).

1. The Guimet Museum has the seal which was delivered by China to the "Sovereigns of Laos" when the Tartaro-Manchu dynasty acceded to the throne, "in exchange for the one which they held from the Ming dynasty." (Pavie, A la conquete des coeurs, p. 347.) Intha-Som was therefore reviving an age-old tradition. This seal, which was carried off by Deo-van-Tri when Luang-Prabang was sacked by his

648
175* In the meantime the carefree populace of Luang-Prabang lived happy and at peace. This is at least the opinion of its annalists who, in confirmation of the adage which states that happy peoples have no history, begin and end their account of Souka-Seum's reign with this categorical assertion.

175*
563
167 The Meo Migration. It was about this time that the first migration of "Meos" occurred in the principality. The chroniclers make no mention of it, doubtless because it was peaceful on the whole and did not affect the tranquillity of the Laotian peoples. Indeed, the newcomers settled on the highest summits of Tran-Ninh and Luang-Prabang, in completely uninhabited regions where even the Khas had never ventured and which were outside the scope of the natives and their leaders.

Farmers and caravaneers, the Meos were above all among the worst denuders of the forests. They must have been driven south out of Se-Tchouen and Yunnan by the need to find new territories which were rich in forests, and also by their undisciplined temperament which could not endure /213/ the authority of the Chinese mandarins. They settled first on the wooded peaks of the Houa-Phan and of Tonkin, then on those of Upper Laos where they found the same kind of habitat as in the cold lands which they had fled. Without religion, without priests, without writing and obedient only to sorcerers who held absolute sway over their essentially vain and credulous character, they lived there in small independent groups, laying waste to the forest in order to grow poppies and maintaining with the neighboring groups only those relations which were strictly indispensable to marketing their opium (1).

/113/ 1. Settlement by the Meos encountered more resistance in Tonkin. "I recall," writes Deo-van-Tri in his Memoires, "having seen my country (Lai-Chau) invaded by the Meos who were called 'White Flags' about 1848. They disturbed the tranquillity of the land, but my honorable father Cam-Sinh finally came to an agreement with them and put them at liberty to settle wherever they wanted on the high plateaus of the region." In the following year, in order to spare his sons from violent family dissensions, Cam-Sinh entrusted Deo-van-Tri and his brother Cam-Heune to the king of Luang-Prabang, who placed them in a pagoda with his own children (Revue indochinoise, August 31, 1904.)

At the death of Souka-Seum, which occurred "at noon on the 563
second day of the waning moon of the tenth month of the year Kot-Set (1212 = 1850) in the palace of Xieng-Mene opposite the city of Luang-Prabang," the Meos already formed many villages. The latter might be described as real eagles' nests, /214/ isolated and scattered, which for three quarters of a century were to maintain relations with the Laotians and the Khas which were suspicious and distant, yet not characterized by systematic hostility.

TIANTHA-KOUMANE, KING 1851-1869.

The dead king's obsequies were not celebrated until the end of 648*
1851, and his brother Tiantha-Koumane did not mount the throne 175*
until 1852, after the accession of the new king of Siam, Phra-Maha-Mongkut.

This latter sovereign, resuming the liberal policy of the old kings of Ayuthya, opened his country wide to foreigners. Britain, which had just extended its Indian empire to Pegou and the deltas of the Irawaddy and the Sittang, was the first to profit thereby, and in 1855 its ambassador Sir John Bowring obtained the advantageous trading treaty which was to guarantee the English language such diffusion that it would become the second official language in Bangkok.

King Mongkut had not, however, signed this treaty out of any particular kindred sentiment, but under the constraint of the British settlements in Burma, and so he hastened to make advances to the representatives of the other /215/ powers. On May 29, 1856 he granted equivalent advantages to the young American Republic, and on the following August 15 came to terms with the minister plenipotentiary of the Emperor of the French.

Franco-Siamese treaty of August 15, 1856. The France of Napoleon III thus renewed with Siam the relations which had been started by the France of Louis XIV. After the tragedy of Constantin Falcone long ago we had abandoned all activity on the banks of the Menam, where only a few missionaries tenaciously pursued their evangelistic propaganda.

The advances by the Siamese government were therefore rather ill-understood in Paris, for our interests in Bangkok were only slight, and it was quite incidentally that M. Charles de Montigny, who was returning to his consular post in Shanghai and whom Count Walewski had primarily commissioned to deal in strong terms with the emperor of Annam in the course of his voyage

648* attempt, moved with all haste towards the banks of the Mekong,
175* followed by four thousand families and carrying off the archives "in order to prevent any later pretexts to claims" (1).

1. Cf. Captain de Pelacot, op. cit. /"Le Tran-Ninh historique," Revue indochinoise, Hanoi, 1896. /

Annam reacted immediately and installed another Quan-Phu in Muong-Kham with two thousand men, but it had learned its lesson. The new delegate inaugurated an administration of flexibility and concessions, placed Chao-Pho, the eldest son of Chao-Noi, at his side, and after four years yielded all power to him (1855).

Chao-Pho did not remount his ancestors' throne, but took control of affairs with the simple title of the emperor's mandatory. Tiantha-Koumane, however, most probably at Bangkok's instigation, took the point of view that the kingdom of Xieng-Khouang had been reconstituted and demanded tribute.

Long negotiations ensued, in the course of which Chao-Pho maneuvered with sufficient skill to avoid any offense on the part of Luang-Prabang and any disavowal on the part of Annam. Finally Tran-Ninh paid /236/ ninety bars of silver to Emperor Tu-Duc every year and sent Luang-Prabang the traditional triennial bounty.

175* Chao-Pho therefore restored comparative tranquillity to his
563 countrymen for a few years. Tu-Duc had come to grips with the
/167/ French and seemed to lose interest in Tran-Ninh's affairs, and the memory of evil days was beginning to be blurred in the mists of the plateau ricefields which were once more being cultivated, when the first bands of "Hos" appeared whose devastations were to achieve the total ruin of the unfortunate principality.

First incursions of "Hos" (1864). Driven from China by the wars of Yunnan, these hordes of ravenous fugitives (1) suddenly poured into northern Indo-China. Their invasions began about 1864 and were to unroll in successive waves for more than twenty years against the Sip-Song-Panas, Tonkin, the Houa-Phan, Tran-Ninh and as far as the gates of Luang-Prabang.

1. "Ho" means "Chinese" in the Thai dialect.

Although not organized at first, their bands gradually formed 175*
into armed contingents which soon became known under the names 563
of /237/ black, yellow or red Flags, depending on the color of
their banners. In contrast to the Meos, who were called White
Flags (1) and whose settlement fifteen years previously had, on the
whole, been permanent and not too violent, the Hos waged a war
of brigandry which calls to mind the sinister exploits of the Grandes /579/
Compagnies which were dismembered by Du Guesclin. They razed
villages, held the terrorized inhabitants for ransom, or else hired
themselves out to the inhabitants to protect them against other
bands. The cantons of the Black River were the first to fall prey to
their pillaging, but then the leaders of the region came to terms
with them, interested them in their internal disputes, took them
with them to the Tonkinese delta to aid the Annamites against the
French, and finally sent one band against another in the Laotian
territories which they devastated as far as Nong-Khay. Both mili-
tary and diplomatic action had to be taken by France following the
first Pavie mission in order to suppress them. Those of them who /144/
did not go back to China abandoned their guns to become farmers,
married Thai or Kha wives and thus created a stock of mixed blood
which, by successive crossings, /238/ merged into the mass of the
population.

Restitution of the Prabang by Siam (1867). In the midst of all 648*
the cares which the threats of these invaders caused him, Tiantha- 175*
Koumane had the satisfaction of restoring the venerated statue of 778
the Prabang to his people.

Carried off to Vientiane by Thao-Nong in 1707 and ravish[illegible] successively by Chulalok in 1778 and by Bodin in 1828 (1), the kingdom's ancient palladium was finally returned by King Mongkut, in 1867, to Fa-Ngoun's descendant, who sent the Oupahat Oun-Kham to Bangkok to take solemn possession thereof.

Taken by land as far as Xieng-Mene (Luang-Prabang right bank), it was displayed for seven days and seven nights at the landing of

---

1. See above, pp. 212 and 213.

1. See above, pp. 47, 133, 156, 158 and 174.

Laotian provinces, over which it exercised only nominal authority
as yet (2). It must, however, combat the rights which Annam /161/

2. Even over the old principality of Vientiane, now three- /631/
quarters depopulated, where it had had the wisdom, or the
weakness, to leave the old chiefs of muongs in charge of
the government and had required of them only an oath of
fidelity and the payment of personal and land taxes in the
form of one large annual tribute.

might one day be led to assert over these regions, and it must place them under military occupation so as to present the emperor Tu-Duc, and eventually the Quai d'Orsay, with a fait accompli without further delay. The great invasion of Tran-Ninh by the Hos was to furnish it a pretext in 1873.

/242/ Invasion of Tran-Ninh by the Hos (1872). A large band 563
of "Red Flags," numbering about two thousand pirates who had 175*
been driven out of the Black River by the "Yellow Flags" towards /167/
the end of 1871, fell upon the plateau by way of Xieng-Ko, which /579/
it sacked despite the desperate resistance of the inhabitants, and entrenched itself in the island of Bandon near the village of Banban. A first column which Chao-Hung sent against it fled bravely at the first contact with the invaders, and since everything ends in a song in the land of Laos, their panic was at once turned to ridicule and put in couplets which are still sung today (1).

1. The following is a translation of the first of these 539
couplets:

Sanousit leaves his opium pipe which is lost.
Sisania throws away his opium lamp.
Chao-un-Vico abandons his Annamite gong.
All is lost, all is thrown away.
They hide in the forest, gasping with fear.
They do not even keep so much as a pin.
They hasten homewards through the brush.
By the shortest road.
For three days it is impossible to eat.
Chao-un-Vico's face is no longer human (fear has
distorted his features).

"It seems that this refrain was sung whenever Sanousit, 563
175*

563 Sisania or Chao-un-Vico passed through the village streets.
175* The teller of this tale added naively that they did not like it
at all." (Cf. Captain de Pelacot, op. cit. /"Le Tran-Ninh historique," Revue indochinoise, Hanoi, 1896./).

175* /243/ A second column was led by an incapable and cowardly
563 leader (1) and came to terms in a treacherous way with the Hos,
726

1. Phra-Phanom, a cousin of Chao-Hung who was in the pay of Siam. (Cf. ibid. /de Pelacot, "Le Tran-Ninh historique," Revue indochinoise, Hanoi, 1896./.)

who organized themselves strongly in their lair and began a systematic pillage of the surrounding territory. Then Chao-Hung asked for aid from the king of Luang-Prabang and the emperor of Annam. Tu-Duc sent twelve hundred men, while Oun-Kham sent two hundred, himself took command of 400 Phoueuns and marched resolutely on Bandon. But he committed the error of attacking in scattered order, without a unified command. The Hos sustained the siege for forty-eight hours, then became aware of the lack of unison among the allied leaders and on the third day made a sortie during which Chao-Hung was killed. His death threw his troops into disorder and marked the end of their resistance (2).

2. The Annamites regained Vinh in the number of only seven hundred (Cf. ibid. /de Pelacot, "Le Tran-Ninh historique," Revue indochinoise, Hanoi, 1896./).

Xieng-Kham and Xieng-Khouang were immediately occupied by the Red Flags and all of Tran-Ninh was invaded and devastated, most of the villages burned, and the populace requisitioned and tortured with nameless atrocities. To such an extent was this true that after a few months the pirates had /244/ brought about an absolute vacuum. Finding nothing more to pillage, they had the idea of extracting ransom money from Luang-Prabang and had already set out on their way when a "bad omen" suddenly made them turn about and directed them towards Vientiane and Nongkhay.

Siamese intervention (1872). They encountered no resistance in this depopulated region, the few inhabitants fled terrorized into the forests at the mere rumor of their approach. They entered

Anou's old capital without difficulty and fortified themselves there, 726
completing the destruction of its ruins in their search for the royal 175*
treasures (1), and from there sent rapid incusrions into the present- 563
day muong of Borikhane.

The governor of Nongkhay, blackaded in his city which was 648*
thronged with fugitives, joined his cries of alarm to the appeal 726
which the king of Luang-Prabang had sent to Bangkok, and the 175*
Siamese government dispatched an army which first succeeded in 563
driving the Hos northward and then launched a flank attack on them by detaching eight hundred men and sending them to reinforce the forces which King Oun-Kham had mobilized. But the campaign which had been so forcefully begun soon softened in the face of the pirates' counterthrusts, /245/ for the latter had shut themselves into nearly impregnable fortresses. Pressed to make an end of it and to save face, the Siamese leaders came to terms with them and gave them permission to remain in the land in return for vague recognition of the suzerainty of Bangkok. As for the surviving in-
habitants of the circumscriptions which had been purged of Hos, /727/
they were "severely blamed for having fled before the enemy" and driven along the Mekong with their flocks. "10,600, men, women and children departed. The exodus of these poor folk across this land of famine was a pitiful spectacle. Most of them died along the way, and a few were able to flee. Only six thousand reached Siam" (1).

Luang-Prabang had been miraculously spared, but anarchy of 579
the utmost violence was unleased at the very gates of the princi- 563
pality. The "Yellow Flags" invaded the Sip-Song-Chau-Thai, 727
whose leader Cam-Sinh had joined forces with the "Black Flags" 175*
of Ong-Liu (2), while the Meos and the Khas stirred up trouble in their turn -- seemingly at first merely in self-defense against the Hos, then as a means of existence in the general confusion -- by

---

1. They tore down the central minaret of the That-Luong.

1. Cf. Captain de Pelacot, op. cit. /"Le Tran-Ninh historique," Revue indochinoise, Hanoi, 1896./

2. Luu-Vinh-Phuoc, encamped at Lao-Kay.

579 ravaging the region of Dien-Bien-/246/ Phu as far as Muong-Ngoi.
563 King Oun-Kham was growing old and carefree and felt incapable,
727 when left entirely to his own resources, of calming the mortal dis-
175* quietude of his people. Thus Siamese agents, the number of whom
/648/* was constantly on the increase, were welcomed all along the Upper Mekong as the only protectors from whom effective aid could be expected.

636 Relations with the cantons of the Black River. The man Cam-
175* Sinh, who was of Chinese origin himself, was nevertheless a friend of the princes of Luang-Prabang, but he was then too preoccupied with driving the invaders out of his own domains to lend any support to his neighbor.

His remote ancestors were military mandarins in Quang-Si and had settled three hundred years previously in Muong-Lai, which they had pacified in behalf of the king of Anna. Their authority extended around Lai-Chau as far as Yunnan in the north and Muong Theng in the south (Dien-Bien-Phu, the legendary cradle of the Laotian race). At this time they had reached a peaceful agreement
/728/ with the kings of Lan-Xang, most likely Nokeo-Koumane or Thammi-Karath who had just /247/ shaken off the Burmese yoke (1) and who were glad to give them charge of the "white" and "black" Thais of the region in exchange for a triennial payment of thirty-three taels of silver "and one horse" (2). Relations had subsequently become completely friendly and trusting to such a degree that when Cam-Sinh was in conflict with several of his relatives around 1850 he had not hesitated to place two of his children, one of whom was Deo-van-Tri, in Souka-Seum's hands (3).

669 Revolt of the Khas of Muong-Ngoi (1876). It was not until 1876,
175* after he had temporarily driven back the Yellow Flags, that he was
563 able to send any reinforcements to Oun-Kham to sustain the struggle

---

1. See above, pp. 97 and 100.

2. Cf. the Chronicle of Muong-Lai given by Deo-van-Tri to Auguste Pavie in 1894.

3. See above, p. 213, note.

against the revolted Khas. But scarcely had the latter made their 669
submission when Cam-Sinh was again overwhelmed by a return of- 175*
fensive of the pirates in his territory, and then soon drawn by his 563 ●
ally Liu-Vinh-Phuoc into the ambush warfare which the emperor /648/*
of Annam was sustaining in the Tonkinese delta against the French of Francis Garnier and Henri Riviere.

/248/ Siamese occupation (1883-1885). The old king Oun- 648*
Kham was therefore left to confront the ever-threatening Hos by 175*
himself, as well as a populace which was perpetually on the qui-vive and Siamese who were settling daily in his land in increasing numbers as in a conquered country. The latter redoubled their activities when the French advance in Tonkin, despite a thousand setbacks, resulted in the protectorate treaty of August 25, 1883 which posed the problem of Annam's political frontiers in a precise way. Bangkok's agents immediately enlisted Laotian recruits, marched against Xieng-Kham and once more besieged the Hos in their entrenched positions, but they suffered so grave a setback (1) that King Chulalongkorn decided to send out a large force immediately and place the whole upper country to the north and east of Luang-Prabang and as far as the approaches to the Black River under military occupation.

Upon his arrival in October 1885 the Chao-Meun-Vai-Voronat (2), who was commander-in-chief of the occupation forces, took effective possession of the principality, entrusted its administration to two commissioners or Kaluongs who were stationed /249/ with King Oun-Kham, and himself went into the field in a prudent march towards Tran-Ninh and the Houa-Phans, taking the oupahat Souvanna-Phouma and one of his sons with him as hostages rather than as comrades in arms.

/250/ /Blank page/

1. The Siamese general Phya-Khon-Thay was killed and his troops disbanded.

2. He was elevated to the dignity of "Phya" Surrissak upon his return to Bangkok in 1887. (See below, p. 271.)

Question of the Sip-Song-Panas (Anglo-French commission, 648*
January-April 1895). On January 1, 1895 he met the British mission 175*
in Muong-Sing, as he had agreed with its leader, the Resident Minister Scott, during his recent trip to Bangkok.

Because he had explored them in 1891 with Deo-Van-Tri, Pavie was not ignorant of the fact that the twelve principalities which lay in a line on both banks of the river and which formed what was called /332/ the confederation of the Sip-Song-Panas had always been more or less tributary to Burma, but he also knew that the British conquest of this latter country had detached several princes from it and that these princes had deemed it well to place themselves under Chinese protection. The prince of Xieng-Kheng, in particular, who was a descendant of the old "Chao-Fa" of Muong-Sing and was established on the right bank at Muong-You (1), had transferred his capital to the plain of Muong-Sing in 1885 "in order to put the Mekong
between himself and the invaders." This prince, who was "a sage /563/
and perspicacious old man, a scholar whose speech was rich in /439/
images, and a man greatly superior to the average mandarin," was endeavoring to create harmony among the extremely varied populations with different origins, customs and languages -- Lues, Younes, Yaos, Meos, Mousseux, Khas, etc., who had settled on this verdant plateau, an age-old crossroads on the great caravan route. With his profound good sense he was the first to realize that it was impossible to create an intermediate zone "and that a partitioning of the country was the probable solution. He gradually came to accept the idea of giving up the right bank and, yielding to his liking for us, he even made /333/ preparations to emigrate towards Luang-Prabang (1) in case no part of his country should be awarded to us by the terms of the decision" (2).

---

1. See above, p. 176, note 1.

1. See above the relations of Luang-Prabang with the Sip-Song-Panas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, pp. 129, 133, 180 ff.

2. Mission Pavie, "Geographie et Voyages," Vol. II, p. 341.

115: Le Boulanger--209 H-4 (no date) 1931 AM1 Indochina
(20th Cent.) Laotians AM8
Kha Am7

Franco-Siamese treaty of October 7, 1902. Finally after more 648*
than three years of negotiations which were skilfully terminated in 175*
Paris by the Phyas Sri and Suriya, a new treaty was signed on October 7, 1902 by the terms of which we gave Siam back its liberty on the right bank of the river in exchange for the return to the French authorities of the territories of Melouprey and Tonle-Repou in Cambodia and of Bassac in Lower Laos. The king of Luang-Prabang obtained the frontier correction /343/ which he had been claiming for nine years, but we allowed Siam to retain the status of suzerain with respect to our protege as regarded this large part of his domains. As for our Asiatic nationals residing in Siam, we lost touch with them to such a degree that the revision of their lists was left to the entire discretion of the Siamese authorities.

This treaty provoked the sharpest and most fully justified protests on the part of the colonial group in the Chamber. How had the high competence of Auguste Pavie and the repeated advice of our successive ministers in Bangkok led the Quai d'Orsay to conclude a treaty which did not decide anything and which, in exchange for slight territorial satisfactions in the south, completely abandoned our influence over the whole Laotian right bank to the north of the Se-Moun? Under the pressure of parliament, which refused to ratify the treaty, the talks had to be resumed with more care given to "making our rights and interests respected."

Insurrection of the Khas of Lower Laos (1901-1907). The necessi- L
ty for reaching some kind of agreement, however, was becoming all K
the more desirable on both sides in that Lower Laos had for /344/ 669
about a year been the theater of an insurrection, as violent as it was 175*
singular, by the Khas on both banks of the Mekong. 563

The fief of Bassac, which was administered by the descendants of L
Chao-Houy (1) in behalf of the king of Siam, had lost much of its K
/636/
importance for the latter ever since the treaty of 1893 had amputated the muongs of Saravane and Attopeu. All this region, which was populated mainly by Khas (Boloven, Alak, Nha-Heun, on the left bank), had been only sparsely colonized by a few Phou-Thai and Laotian families, and Siamese domination over these tribes which were refractory to all authority had never been more effective than the purely nominal domination of the old kings of Vientiane (2).

---

1. See above, pp. 168; 177, note 2 and 328, note 1.

2. See above, p. 90, the campaign of Setthathirath in

K Attopeu and p. 160, the first known rebellion of the Khas
L of Bassac.
669
175* In fact the region had long been a vast supply ground for slaves --
563 "Annamites generally, whom the turbulent and hardly Khas went and
kidnaped on the other side of the watershed chain" and bartered on
the banks of the Mekong for buffalo, gongs, metals and cloth, of
which they stood in permanent need.

K The cause of the rebellion of 1901, which /345/ arose in the re-
/567/ gion of Oubone and spread like wildfire, remains highly obscure.
Doubtless the abolition of slavery by King Chulalongkorn and the
prohibition against engaging in this traffic which was pronounced by
our first administrators were not unconnected with the mystical fervor
which agitated the Khas, who were tacitly supported by those
K Laotian functionaries who had suddenly been deprived of profitable
/791/ dealings. Whatever the case may be, these basically superstitious
people were inflamed by their sorcerers or "Phou-Mi-Boun," who
resembled messiahs and in whose supernatural gifts they had an unshakeable faith, and they declared war against the established order
for the purpose of imposing the authority of their ringleaders, who
alone were worthy, in their eyes, of "governing men and causing
justice to reign among them" (1). In March 1901 the situation had

L 1. Cf. J.-J. Dauplay, Les terres rouges du plateau des
K Boloven. Saigon, 1929, p. 55.
113

become so grave on the plateau of the Bolovens that M. Remy, the
L government commissioner in Saravane, was surrounded together with
K some fifteen militiamen in the pagoda of Thateng by 1500 Khas,
669 almost all of whom were armed with flintlock rifles, and that he
175* owed his own salvation only to a forceful resistance. "A few days
563 later the whole plateau was up in arms. All the villages /346/ had
followed the Phou-Mi-Boun, without distinction of race. They had,
moreover, scarcely any other alternative, for the lukewarm and
hesitant individuals were simply massacred" (1).

1. Cf. J.-J. Dauplay, op. cit. /Les terres rouges du plateau des Boloven. Saigon, 1929./, p. 60.

The rebels' success had no aftermath, however, and thanks to

the resolute action of administrator Remy the situation was greatly L
improved in the spring of 1902. "The fact that the Phou-Mi-Boun K
were powerless to perform the slightest miracle was recognized by 669
all the insurgents, three-quarters of whom had made their submis- 175*
sion and reintegrated their villages. . . . But other agitators, also 563
from Siam (2), had already abandoned the plateau and directed

2. Thrown back to the Mekong from the territory of Oubone by the Siamese military forces sent against them.

their efforts against Savannakhet and Vientiane. At about eight in the morning on April 19, 1902 the Savannakhet commissariat was surrounded by hordes of Laotians, bands of inspired folk who marched, sang and played the khene, convinced that the bullets from our rifles would change into frangipane flowers. It was necessary to open fire in order to free the capital. They left 150 dead on the square, and probably carried off as many wounded. On our side losses were limited to one militiaman killed and two wounded. Then everything became calm again" (1).

1. Cf. J.-J. Dauplay, op. cit. /Les terres rouges du plateau des Boloven. Saigon, 1929. /, pp. 62 and 64. "Vientiane was also seething with agitators, and the Europeans there spent more than one anxious night. In fact, however, peace and order was never disturbed." P. 63.

From then on the revolt seemed to be throttled. It nevertheless lasted longer than was reasonable as a result of the lack of agreement between the heads of the provinces involved, who could not settle on an overall plan of action "against the rebel chieftains who had taken refuge (with their last partisans) in the wooded mountains of the left bank of the Sekong." The latter were able to hold out in their dens for more than four years, and not until 1906-1907, when discord spread among them, did they make their submission "discouraged and dying of hunger" (2).

2. "In the case of one of the rebel chieftains, the famous Bac-My, his so-called submission was only a pretense designed to lull our vigilance, to enable him to recruit partisans and above all to procure arms from Siam. This was so true that he had to be suppressed towards the end of 1910.

L As for the Boloven-Khomadan, he never made his submission.
K He still lives with his partisans on the mountain of Phou-
669 Luouang in the northeast of the plateau." Cf. ibid., p. 65.

175*

563 Franco-Siamese treaty of February 13, 1904. In the meantime the
governments in Bangkok and Paris had succeeded in reaching an agree-
648* ment on a rough and ready compromise, in /348/ an obviously re-
175* ciprocal desire to end all misunderstandings and to restore between
France and Siam the friendly relations of former times which were
now seen to be more indispensable than ever between immediate
neighbors.

By the new treaty of February 13, 1904 Siam confirmed its previous territorial cessions, and also renounced all rights of suzerainty over the territories of Luang-Prabang situated on the right bank of the Mekong. For its part, France continued its 1902 policy of renouncing all rights to the 25-kilometer zone, but obtained permission to retain seven establishments there (by application of Article 6 of the treaty of 1893 which had authorized boat relays, storehouses for wood, etc. for the development of navigation on the river). It was understood that the list of our Asiatic proteges would not be revised, and future enrollments would be limited to subjects placed directly under the authority of French jurisdiction. Finally, the treaty provided for mixed commissions composed of officers which should shortly undertake to delimit the new frontier "between the kingdom of Siam and the territories forming French Indo-China."

The goodwill of the negotiators /349/ triumphed over the complexity of the interests at stake and their entanglements. Thus signatures were exchanged to general satisfaction and ratification was obtained without any comment.

Franco-Siamese relations since 1904. The mixed commissions began their work in Cambodia almost immediately in an atmosphere of cordial collaboration. We were able to evacuate Chantaboun in 1905 at the very beginning. We obtained a broad protective zone surrounding Kratt in the region included between Tonle-Sap and the sea, and the operations which were subsequently carried out in Laos awarded us the district of Dan-Sai which runs southwards for some hundred kilometers alongside the territory of Luang-Prabang. Profiting by these gracious marks of a sincerely friendly spirit, Commander Bernard, the leader of the French mission, skilfully reintroduced the

and, even as they retain their smiling native good nature, they are 643*
becoming increasingly adapted with each passing day to the rude 178
necessities of modern existence in the hectic struggle between individuals and peoples.

Nearly identical results have been achieved in the other parts of Laos where /354/ the influence of our administrators is exercised in a more direct manner, even though it is still usually based on the ascendancy which the local mandarins have retained over the populace.

Annexation of the territory of Bassac (1905). It was thus that 635
the territory of Bassac on the right bank, which was in full disorder 175*
when it was returned to France, was pacified by the Laotian "governor" whom we appointed there. Annexed in January 1905 to the province of Ban-Mouang, this territory had been abandoned in the previous year by the oupahat Boua-Laphan, who was the successor of King Kham-Souk (1) and who had taken refuge at Ban-Toung-Loung in the Siamese district of Oubone. In a most loyal manner Chao-Nhouy, one of Kham-Souk's sons, offered us his services and took an oath of fidelity before Superior Resident Mahe on October 14, 1905. He was named governor of the region, and since then has not ceased to give the French administration the benefit of his influence and his devotion (2).

/355/ The Khas of Lower Laos. The Khas of Lower Laos have 563
remained perfectly peaceful ever since their 1901 escapade was 669
suppressed. They have even tended imperceptibly to come out of their fierce isolation as new means of communication have connected their villages, which only yesterday were hidden in the brush, with the vast network of roads now under construction which will soon open up the Laotian hinterland (1).

---

(1) See above, p. 328.

(2) The "delegation" which replaced the commercial agency in Bassac was discontinued in 1908 and the capital of the circumscription, which took the name of province of Bassac, was transferred from Ban-Mouang to Pakse.

(1) The question of the Indo-Chinese "Moi hinterland"

563 669 deserves full study but would be beyond the scope of the present work, which is strictly limited to an account of historical events.

The mountain tribes of Upper Laos. The mountain tribes of Upper Laos, on the other hand, have been subject to more or less violent unrest during the period 1914-1921.

The Lus of Muong Sing and of the Sip-Song-Panas, as well as the representatives of the many races which inhabit this land with a chaotic relief structure, had previously accepted the establishment of French guardianship without any hostile reaction, for the misdeeds of the Lu chieftain Van-Na-Poum, who was, all in all, only a common bandit who robbed the people by force of arms /356/ and was killed in 1910 by our militia after he had wounded Inspector Nollin, who was sent to arrest him, cannot be regarded as acts of out-and-out rebellion. But in the first months of the World War the Yunnanese frontier, which was well-known to smugglers and brigands, was troubled by a marked recrudescence of outlawry, and suddenly in November 1914 Chinese bands, which were probably encouraged by Annamite agitators in contact with the Germans who had been expelled from Indo-China, broke out in the Muong-Hou and the Houa-Phan, burned the capital at Sam-Neua, at which time Administrator Lambert was massacred, killed Militia Inspector Tuyaa who was sent against them, and spread terror throughout the whole region.

624 669 1. The Muong-Sing incident (1914-1916). Phra-Ong-Kham, the Chao-Fa of Muong-Sing, who was the son and the successor in 1907 of the prince who had spontaneously turned to Auguste Pavie in the past when he wished to escape British domination (1), did not share his father's sentiments with regard to France's representatives. His abuses of his power had gained him vigorous protests on the part of the government commissioner's delegate, and he had sworn to /357/ revenge himself on the latter by -- quite simply -- having him assassinated. His plot was discovered and he fled to China (December 2), from which point he gave active help to the brigands by inciting his subjects to revolt and by propagating false rumors designed to discredit French prestige among the populace.

Even though the latter responded half-heartedly at best to his

1. See above, p. 331.

urgings, no less than three successive expeditions (the Sourisseau, 624
Friquegnon and Dussault columns) and two years of difficult and 669
costly operations were necessary to restore order and suppress the Yunnanese bands. The deposition of the Chao-Fa -- applicable both to himself and his heirs -- was decreed in April 1916, and the former principality was converted into a simple "muong." Phra-Ong-Kham died in China in 1923, and when his family offered to make its submission it was given permission to return to Muong-Sing.

2. The Meo rebellion (1919-1921). While these events were M
transpiring the Meos, who lived mainly high up on the peaks of 563
Luang-Prabang and Tran-Ninh (1), had maintained a proper attitude 669
L
even though approached by the Chao-Fa and the /358/ Chinese brigands. Nor had they seemed at first to pay any more attention to the movement which their fellows in Tonkin had just initiated in the basin of the upper Black River.

Continuing to live apart from other races in jealous isolation, they had nevertheless seemed for some time past to be moving towards closer terms with the provincial administration, which had succeeded in interesting them in road projects. But in July 1919 one of the leaders of the Tonkin rebellion who was being pursued by our troops and was called Batchay came to seek refuge among them. From this lair he sent out emissaries whose mission it was to devote themselves to secret propaganda efforts among the Meo groupings of Upper Laos in favor of a king who, "accomplishing the will of Heaven, was to bring them happiness, peace and prosperity." The rumor rapidly circulated among these credulous tribes that a prophecy which had fallen from the sky was summoning all Meos to revolt and form a great independent kingdom with its capital at Dien-Bien-Phu or Muong-Heup. To the accompaniment of incantations and magic formulas, the able-bodied population was called to march against the Laotians, Khas and Annamites and to build the palace of the awaited sovereign.

/359/ In vain did the king of Luang-Prabang send messages to L
the Meo leaders in protest against these absurd rumors. Within a M
few weeks armed bands were formed which began to ransom and 563 ●
pillage the villages of Tran-Ninh, Luang-Prabang and the Houa- 669
Phan. Our militia had to occupy the outpost of Muong-Heup, which

1. See above, p. 212. 787

L M 563 669 was attacked on August 15. It repulsed the assaillants, two of which were killed and some ten wounded. The Muong-Ngoi outpost was then reinforced by riflemen under the command of Lieutenant Distanti, and detachments led by Laotian leaders scoured the country. On September 23, however, Lieutenant Distanti fell into an ambush and suffered a mortal wound, and in October we committed the error of evacuating Muong-Heup, an action which heightened Batchay's prestige still further and provoked a veritable panic among the terrorized populace.

The matter was becoming serious, and reinforcements had to be sent from Hanoi and Saigon. A military column was organized and placed under the direction of Colonel Angeli, who was able to free the plateau of Xieng-Khouang and part of the Houa-Phan only after fierce battles at Ban-Ban, Bergerie, Ban-Phadeng and Pakkha /360/ (January-May 1920). At the same time attempts had been made to enter into negotiations with the principal rebel leaders so as to open their eyes to the dangers and ordeals into which they were drawing their families. A few submissions were obtained in this manner, but when the rainy season halted all operations Batchay profited from the respite in order to regroup his partisans east of Nam-Ou.

In December Commander Dorey resumed the offensive, and despite the many obstacles in a "land bristling with mountains, sown with ambushes and devoid of all resources" succeeded in driving the Meos "from one entrenched position to the next," harrying them without respite, encircling them and decimating them with such rapidity that a month later all their bands were either destroyed or had surrendered, that Batchay was in flight and abandoned by the last survivors, and that the column could be disbanded in March 1921 (1).

1. Batchay's refuge was not discovered until October 1922. Surprised by Khas in the vicinity of Muong-Heup, he was killed by the latter on November 17.

Thus ended, almost as suddenly as it had broken out, this surprising insurrection which was uniquely due to the fanatacism of skittish and excessively superstitious tribes which were /361/ blindly obedient (like the southern Khas towards the Phou-Mi-Boun) to leaders who imposed on them by practices drawn from the lowest kind of sorcery. It is indeed a proven fact that the Meos had not been exposed to the

influence of any foreign propaganda and that their revolt did not L
at any time assume the character of an anti-French manifestation. M
Thus their uprising had no repercussions on the other ethnic groups 563
in Laos, which in spirit and in deed stood behind our repressive 669
measures.

They returned in peace to their agricultural labors (chiefly the L
cultivation of poppies) in their precipitous solitudes. A special M
administrative statute gave them the cantonal and communal 563
autonomy which they desired, with no Laotian or Annamite inter- 636
mediary. No matter how infrequent their contacts with the popu- 609
lations of the valleys and plains, it is quite certain that racial
antagonism (exploited by agitators during the revolt) was maintain-
ing a state of mind among their groupings which was suspicious and
devoid of friendliness towards the native authorities. The reforms 178
which were put into effect seem to have yielded good results. In 563
the same way, a prudent policy towards the still unsubdued tribes
of Lower Laos, one which will avoid direct conflict with their
customs /362/ and prejudices, will gradually tame these last repre-
sentatives of another age whom the opening-up of means of com-
munication will finally incorporate into the larger Indo-Chinese
family.

/ Pages 363-367 contain a Bibliography. Page 368 is blank. Pages 000
369-375 contain an Alphabetical Index of Names Mentioned. Page
376 is blank. --Translator/

133 433 438 The market of Bassac owes its importance to the proximity of the plateau. It is therefore a storehouse for the Laotians of the whole region, a reservoir [51] from which they draw. The part which it plays is obviously a fine one, and no more can be asked of it.

There has also been much discussion as to whether large-scale breeding of buffalo and oxen would be successful there, for at present livestock is found only in the villages situated near the Sédone, that is to say, quite far from the plateau. The question has not yet been settled, and sufficient tests have not yet been made.

133 At the southernmost corner of the plateau there is a conical mountain about 800 meters in altitude which Francis Garnier baptized The Breast [le Téton] because of its shape, and to which he later gave the name Lagrée's Peak [Pic de Lagrée] in commemoration of the President of the Exploratory Commission of 1866.

[224] The elephant hunters of southern Laos go to the mountainous region of Saravane and Attopeu every year, and there they capture an annual quota of fifty to a hundred elephants.

133 [177 797] To the east of Attopeu the mountains are inhabited by well-nigh independent Kha tribes--Cédangs, Djaraïs, Rognaos and Bahnars. The two latter tribes have almost been pacified, thanks to the persevering efforts of the Christian missionaries of Kon-Toum. This point is the center of the mission, and through it passes the road from Attopeu to Qui-Nhon. It crosses the Annamitic Chain 563 between Kon-Xalam and Kon-Tiorak at an altitude of about 900 meters. Near Attopeu this same road goes up over Pou-Satièng (400 meters), the last ramification of the great chain, which separates the basin of the Sé-Souk from that of the Sé-Kémane.

[135] This region of Pou-Satièng, Sé-Souk and Sé-Kémane has long been known to be rich in gold deposits.

§ IV--HYDROLOGY

a.--THE MÉKONG--GENERALITIES

133 It has often been said, and rightly so, that the Nile constituted Egypt. In the same way it can be said that the Mékong makes Laos, for is it not the river which gives what vitality there is to these vast isolated regions? Is it not the river which, by its annual floods, helps the growth of rice? Does it not supply, with its fish, a large

505 navigable during part of the year.

133 The Ia-Drang, whose valley is inhabited by the Djaraï tribe, is one of its principal tributaries. For that matter, the most important Kha tribes are settled in the valleys of the watercourses which have been dealt with in the foregoing. Thus we find the Lovè Khas between the Sé-Khong, the Sé-Souk and the Sésane; the Niaheun Khas and a few Alaks in the valley of the Sékhong; the Souk Khas in those of the Sé-Pien, [103] [Illustration] [104] [Blank page] [105] the Sé-Kampho and the lower Sékhong; the Salangs between the Sésane and the Sé-Souk; the Bahnars and the Rognaos in those of the Bla and the other left-bank tributaries of the Poco; the Penongs in the deep valley of the Srépok; the Djaraïs in the middle valley of the Sésane and in that of the Ia-Drang; and the Braos and the Tiam-Poueun in the lower Sésane. Those [Illustration here] of the Kha tribes which have been pacified work the gold-bearing alluvia of these rivers and pay their taxes with the gold dust which they extract. 563 316

Upriver from Stung-Treng and as far as the waterfalls the Mékong can be navigated at low water by steam launches. At high water the large steamers of the Cochinchina River Merchant Fleet [Messageries fluviales de Cochinchine] which provide service between Saigon and Pnom-Penh can go up as far as Khône. Below Stung-Treng and as far as Kratié the river can be navigated only by pirogues at low water. The following table [106] shows the average length of journeys by river between Stung-Treng and nearby points on this reach:

000

region.

At the beginning of the rainy season and of the dry season it will be well to wear a cholera-belt, especially at night.

In northern Laos garments of cloth suiting may be worn in the morning and evening during the mixed half-season.

Woolen clothing is also very good, even in the hot season after sundown, for persons who can stand it.

As protective headgear against the sun one should wear the colonial helmet or else the various types of hats made of Indian "saja" pith, cork, elder or rubber. One should provide oneself with a parasol if one fears overexposure to the sun.

Before sunrise and after sunset any kind of headgear will do, and in winter when the sky is clouded over a felt or straw hat is sufficient for the whole day.

In the matter of shoes one should consult one's own need and wear heavy ones or light ones, made of leather or cloth, as one wishes. For walking trips and traveling on horseback one needs waterproof shoes with iron cleats. Above the latter one should wear soft woolen puttees, which are quite superior to leather boots, leggings or gaiters, whatever the advantages of the latter.

563
262

One's diet in Laos should consist almost exclusively of the local staples and produce to which should be added, during six months of the year, the produce of a vegetable garden planted with European vegetables. The rest of the time one may content oneself with the native vegetables, which are less varied, to be sure, but which can be grown during the rainy season.

[119] Beef, pork, goat meat, rabbit meat, venison, fish, poultry, chickens and ducks, geese and guinea fowl, etc. provide, together with eggs, the main elements in the diet, especially if garden produce be added. It is well to use canned food only when one cannot do otherwise.

One very important question which should not be neglected is the making of bread. Faulty workmanship, the use of spoiled flour or of poor quality leaven are, in fact, the often unknown causes of most stomach disorders. The ideal thing would be to replace bread completely with local rice either steam-cooked and eaten as it is, or else pressed into cakes.

Experience has shown that Europeans living in tropical regions stay healthier when they use only native produce and approach the native diet as closely as possible, which is based on rice and maize.

563 262 It is thus that the Missionaries, for example, whose resources are extremely limited and do not enable them to use imported food-stuffs, remain in the land for many long years without any great damage to their health. It goes without saying that one should avoid overindulgence in food, and especially in alcoholic beverages. Drinking iced tea at and between meals gives excellent results, but then it is well to take a small quantity of pure wine. Coffee is an indispensable tonic and stimulant for aiding digestion and fighting off the heaviness which generally manifests itself after meals.

000 One should avoid long siestas immediately after the noonday meal. Newcomers will do well not to succomb to this damaging habit, which slows digestion, softens the organism and in the long run robs the brain of its lucidity and vigor. It is preferable to move about a bit immediately after meals on the verandas or in the rooms of the house. Billiards provide excellent exercise in this case.

Around two o'clock, when digestion is complete and before business is resumed, a cold shower is extremely hygienic. [120] According to one's tastes and temperament one may take a shower bath, pour water over oneself with the help of a basin held in the hand, or bathe in a tub with a large sponge.

In the evening after sunset it is well to take a little exercise in the form of horseback riding, bicycling, tennis, etc. But one should avoid going too far and becoming tired, since all that is needed is enough effort to maintain the suppleness and elasticity of the muscles. After such exercise one should take a quick shower or tub bath, then, if desired, a small glass of generous or tonic wine such as quinquina, cola, coca, Désiles wine, etc.

One should avoid all the so-called alcoholic aperitifs, which necessitate the use of a great deal of water and ice, for they cause overabundant perspiration and, by filling the stomach, retard the secretion of the gastric juices. It is precisely this secretion which gives the sensation of appetite.

164 751 In the matter of general preventive hygiene, a great many persons will do well to follow the regimen outlined below. Every day one should take a few centigrams of salts of quinine, hydrobromide, bihydrobromide, sulfate, etc. If excessive fatigue is anticipated as a consequence of prolonged exposure to the sun, a long march or a stay in the forest, one should take a larger dose of quinine. The dose may be as large, depending on temperament and experience, as one gram for the sulphate and fifty centigrams for the hydrobromide.

563
174

It is true that all the races and varieties enumerated above can be found in Laos, but it is impossible to say what their exact origins were or to gain a complete knowledge of their history, their migrations and the details of their settlement in the land.

For certain regions inhabited by several races we do possess, however, either Phong Savadan or local annals, or else legends written on palm leaves, or even accounts which have been handed down by word of mouth. The manuscripts are, in general, rather incorrect and full of interpolations and embellishments inevitably due to the scribes. They are the only written documents.

The architecture might also give us useful information on all these questions, but the monuments are either too recent and contain nothing of any interest or else they are mute on the events which motivated their edification, as well as on the events contemporaneous with them. None of this evidence, whether it be in the form of manuscripts, temples or pagodas, offers the guarantees of authenticity and the ensemble of precise details which are needed in order to leave the realm of hypotheses and [129] [Illustration] [130] [Blank page] [131] deductions, no matter how adroit and logical these may be, when we attempt to settle in exact fashion the evolution of races in the basin of the Great River.

Various theories, based on documents which are questionable in varying degrees, have been put forth by explorers and travelers. We shall here submit to the reader's judgment those which seem to afford the best summary of this somewhat obscure question.

Here, first, is the opinion of the Superior Resident in Laos (1).

[113]

(1) Le Laos Français. (Revue indo-chinoise, Nos. 82 ff., 1900.)

"Laotian legends claim that all the races which now inhabit Indo-China came out of one and the same gourd in Dien-Bien-Phu (Annamite style) or Muong-Thèng (Laotian style), a vast plateau situated in the northeast part of the valley of the Nam-Hou. The sons of this gourd are said to have spread eastward towards the China Sea, southward along the Mékong and the Ménam, and westward towards Burma. Whether we will or not, this gourd reminds us of Noah's Ark.

"On the other hand, if we consult the chronological list of the kings of Luang-Prabang, we note that after six kings of foreign origin, the first of which came from India and the second from Cambodia, there were four kings of Kha race, after which Laotians coming from

Dien-Bien assumed power and never again relinquished it.

"In the absence of local documents offering sufficient guaranties of authenticity, we can only formulate hypotheses on the evolution of races in the Mékong valley, by using the better known history of the East Indies and the Empire of Annam.

"In the present hypothesis we shall assume that the autochthonous population in prehistoric times was a highly colored race of which no traces are left, but whose presence can alone explain, here as in the East Indies or in Annam, the quite marked coloration of the present-day population despite repeated infusions of yellow and white blood.

"By virtue of its location the valley of the Mékong was destined to be one of the major outlets of the races coming from Tibet, and one of the entries for the red races which came up the rivers from the south.

"By virtue of their location, too, the basins of the Mékong and the Ménam, separated from one another by dividing chains low in altitude, were destined to be the refuge of races driven from the east and west by victorious invaders. We know that the first invaders of India were Tibetans. It is probable that a similar invasion took place in the basin of the Mékong and brought about a first mixture between the pseudo-negroes whom we have supposed to have been the original inhabitants and the invaders.

[132] "Later on the Touranians who had penetrated into the Indies (1) from the west and who left so strong an imprint of their type in the land must have gone back eastwards in considerable numbers when they were driven out by the Aryans, and founded an ephemeral dynasty in Laos.

"Meanwhile the Malays who had occupied the Indo-Chinese coastline went up the Mékong and came, in their turn, to mix with the races already in the land. They do not seem, however, to have gone beyond Savannakhèt, for the northernmost Cham monument of which we know is that of Hueun-Hin (the stone house) which is to be found somewhat north of the mouth of the Sé-Bang-Hien.

"It is possible that the mixture of aborigines, Tibetans, Touranians and Malays produced the race of Khas with its many varieties which are slightly different depending on the dominant blood type.

---

(1) And also into Yunnan and Malaysia, where they introduced Islamism. (Author's note.)

174 "When the Annamites, who were of Chinese origin, succeeded, although not without difficulty, in destroying the Cham empire, they 563 drove the conquered people back into the Mékong basin where a kingdom grew up which had Bassac as its capital and was known by 144 the name of Champa-Sak by the Laotians. It was then that the Thais, driving the Khas and the Chams whom they could not absorb or who resisted them back towards the mountains, took possession of all the plains and all the valleys. From this last mixture, on top of so many others, there has resulted quite a large number of varieties which have a common origin and have had a parallel development and life, but which have not mixed with neighboring varieties. The generic name of Thais which is given to this collection of men implies a certain number of types which, if not different, are at least dissimilar in certain respects. Finally, there were two rather inconsiderable infusions of Aryan blood. The first occurred in the fifth century A.D. and went northward from Cambodia as far as Luang-Prabang. The second was in the seventh century, when the sacred books were brought from India through Burma and the north Mékong valley. A curious fact worthy of note is that the Chinese pilgrims Fa-Hiang and Huyen-Tchang, returning from the Indies where they had gone to study the Buddhist religion, wrote their well known works in China at about the same time. The influence of the Aryans, who were the bearers of the sacred books of Buddhist doctrine and also of many Brahminic superstitions, manifested itself especially in a physical way among the Thais of the northwest and less noticeably among the Thais on the very banks of the Mékong.

"Although the Aryans scarcely transformed or modified a small segment of the Thais from the physical point of view, without having any influence of this type on the rest, it may nevertheless easily be asserted that the moral influence which they exerted was felt by all the Thais and that all of them had their moral and intellectual life [123] modified by the Aryans to an appreciable degree. Only the Khas escaped this influence."

Finally, in conclusion, this author adds:

"The population of Laos can be naturally divided into three broad categories:

"1. The Thais, who include all the people speaking the Thai language with slight differences in accent and a few differences in vocabulary. The chief among them are:

"The Laotians, the Phou-Thais, the white, black and red Thais,

174
563
144

the Thais-Neua, the Pou-Euns, the Lus and the Youns;

"2. The Khas, and the Khas who are evolving towards types of the first category;

"3. The inhabitants who come from neighboring countries: China, Yunnan, Annam, Cambodia, Siam, Burma."

We shall now give Dr. Lefèvre's version (1):

(1) Dr. Lefèvre, Un voyage au Laos, 1898.

"1. The first inhabitants of the peninsula or true aborigines were the Khas, a nearly savage fold without monuments and, so to speak, without any form of writing, who were driven back into the mountains by the successive invaders of their territory.

"2. The Malays or Chams were the first colonists to come to Indo-China. Little by little they succeeded in forming several principalities, the most important of which was the kingdom of Champa or Tiampa, which included the whole coast from Tourane to Baria.

"3. After the Malay infiltration came the arrival of the Brahmins, who had been driven out of Benares with their leader Pra-Thong. They struggled with the Malays and almost absorbed them in the end. The Brahmins were the first ancestors of the Cambodians.

"4. Under Açoka, emperor of Burma, took place the arrival of the Kmers who came from Pégou and Hansavadi and settled in Cambodia, thereby overshadowing the Brahmin caste.

"5. Tartars came down from the north and leveled all. They were followed by the Thais who came from Mongolia or Setchuen and who spread to Siam, Laos, Burma, Kouang-Si, Kouang-Toung, the north of Tonkin and the island of Haïnan.

"6. To the east, on the coast, are the Annamites, who came from Kouei-Tcheou and occupy all the territory included between the Annamitic Chain and the sea."

Dr. Lefèvre's conclusions are worthy of note, for they were based on documents which are reputed to be authentic. We [134] should, however, add one particular relating to the prehistoric period, that is to say to the epoch of polished stone and the bronze age. At that time there were human beings in the Mékong basin who had the same way of life, the same kind of tools and the same methods of work as our own ancestors in ancient Gaul. In fact, the interesting

172

1

172 collections which have been assembled in Luang-Prabang by M. Massie (1) and by Prince Henri d'Orléans contain tools and weapons of polished stone and bronze which attest the antiquity of the Khas or Laotian aborigines.

174 563 The autochthonous races, the first occupants of the soil of Indo-China, the ancestors of the folk whom we now call Khas, possessed means of action which were doubtless identical to those of the neighboring peoples (2). But their evolution towards the grouping of families into tribes and of tribes into clans was a great deal slower. Their tools and weapons remained at a fixed stage of development, and thus they were subjected to contact with and then the influence and yoke of more intelligent neighbors who were better armed and had a broader and less individualistic social organization.

Who can say, in the absence of any kind of historical monument relating to this remote epoch, and especially after the terrible Tartar invasion, how many crossings, metamorphoses and fundamental transformations these first inhabitants of Laos underwent? Always driven back, fleeing and scattered, they formed what might be called ethnic stratifications which were broken from place to place by numerous faults but the traces of which are clearly visible at the various levels of the mountain slopes and on the plateaus where Kha villages were successively established.

Disseminated, with no bond to unite them, dispersed so as to offer less resistance, speaking different dialects, and deprived of common interests, it may be truly said that the various Kha tribes and clans appear to us in a degenerate light.

000 It would, however, be wrong to suppose that this state of affairs is immutable and incurable. The physical and moral regeneration [135] of these races must not be thought of as a utopian dream, but is essential both as an instrument of domination and as a stimulus to our other subjects in Laos who are descended from the conquering races.

It will be greatly to our interest, and we may even say that it

(1) The Massie collection (Pavie mission) is in the museum of Saint-Germain.

(2) See Appendix, No. XVII.

is [Illustration here] a duty for us, to restore the Khas to the normal status to which their imposing number in the total population as well as the special qualities which they possess give them a right. 000

Once emancipated from their strict servitude and from the rapacity of the Laotian and Thai mandarins, and once commanded by leaders who have been chosen by them and from members of their own race, the Khas will rise rapidly and, as [136] time passes, will certainly give a most effective impetus to the development of our possession's riches.

Moreover, they have not lost the tradition of their original status. 563
They are conscious of their own antiquity and say, not without scorn, that the peoples who are newcomers to Indo-China are only their 173
younger brothers. Their race has fallen back on its own resources, has divided into small groups, has opposed a force of absolute inertia to the invader and the conqueror and has thus kept itself free for many long centuries from mixtures with other peoples. Today there are still many descendants of these first possessors of the land and one may find in them, in a latent state, the energy and courage so conspicuously absent in the conquering races which drove them back to the mountains and reduced them to a kind of slavery or ostracism from which the latter greatly profited.

Nor can it be denied that the Khas are capable of moral and 563
material improvement. There are many, for example, who have 795
adopted Buddhism (1), and still others Catholicism (2). These Khas 797

(1) Khouène Khas and Khmou Khas.

(2) Bahnar Khas, Rognaos, etc.

have yielded up to persuasion and gentle treatment what they refused for many centuries to constraint and force. The future is therefore encouraging.

What is more, the question of emancipating the Khas has left 563
the domain of theory and pure speculation. In 1894 M. Macey, one 177
of our political agents, emancipated the Khas in the territories of Xieng-Khong, Muong-Mugne, Poukha, etc. The terrain was well chosen for the experiment, since this daring attempt was applied precisely to the Khouène, Khmou and Lemet Kha groups whose moral regeneration had already begun through the practice of Buddhism.

177 Notice should also be taken of the transformation which has been
going on for half a century or so, in the fusion of Khas with Lus,
● 563 Laos and Thais. From these fusions have emerged the mixed-blood
144 races which are known as Phou-Thèngs, Phou-Thîongs, Soués,
Phongs, Phou-Oks, Laos-Niôs, etc. [137] [Illustration] [138]
[Blank page]

[139] Later on in 1898 and 1899 the 1894 experiment was tried once more, thanks to the intelligent initiative taken by the Superior Commandant in Upper Laos. His Majesty the king of Luang-Prabang proclaimed the emancipation of the Khas in his kingdom on both banks of the Mékong and even of those who, while natives of Luang-Prabang, are employed in Siam in the lumber camps of the upper Ménam valley.

In résumé, the Khas of French Laos are anything but a negligible quantity, but rather constitute a force and a reserve of energy from which we may draw great profit.

3. LANGUAGES

197 It is impossible here to examine in detail the many Kha idioms
and dialects, which only a long and attentive special study could
194 succeed in coordinating, in grouping by similarities and in identifying
with other languages, idioms and dialects which contributed to their
formation.

The Kha dialects have harsh consonant sounds, among which the R and K are particularly noticeable, in contrast to what is the case in the other forms of the Thai language spoken in Laos where R, except in Siamese, is replaced by L or H.

Insofar as it is possible to judge, the primitive languages must
have been corrupted when the land was invaded by foreigners. From
that time on they dissolved, changed and became subdivided into
idioms, and then into varied dialects. Besides the regional and racial
211 idioms and the various local dialects the Khas, who do not (except
for the Khouènes) have any form of writing, use various means to
translate their thoughts, and symbolic objects such as strips of wood
in which they make notches in accordance with a conventional system.

This method may be compared to that of a great many illiterate persons, who sometimes succeed in keeping quite complicated accounts by this means.

If one were to entrust a letter to a Kha courier, for example, one [140] would give him the following symbolic objects grouped together:

291 or less degree lightens its rather dark color. The skirt is a true cylinder, with the same diameter all along its length. A woman raises the skirt in a mass like a crown above her head, lets it slide down along her body and fastens it to her waist, without any hooks or fasteners, by tucking it in along her stomach, which is largely left bare. A brightly colored sash of cotton or silk is thrown over one shoulder, sometimes covering the breasts, to complete the costume.

"During the cold season, where there is a winter, a few women cover their trunks with a short jacket. This garment finds favor mainly outside the larger centers.

302 "A certain number of women wear their hair cut in Bressant style, in accordance with the style imported by the Siamese. The greater number wear their long hair rolled into a coil on the top or side of the head. Women's coiffures vary, moreover, depending on the region and on whether they are married or single.

292 "For great ceremonies, wealthy women wear skirts made of cloth spangled with gold or silver, and sashes of the same type.

"In Luang-Prabang they add a silk or velvet jacket decorated with embroidery on the neck, front and cuffs. Merchants can be found in this city who rent out costumes of this type, as well as gold jewelry, for great ceremonies to women who do not have any." (Le Laos français.)

301 556 Jewelry. Jewels find great favor among the [179] Laotians and are used to complete and enrich their costume. They are not only ornaments, but also the most widespread method for realizing and preserving the liquid part of their fortune. In fact, the inhabitants transform the greater part of [Illustration here] their savings and profits into jewelry, and since they wear them on their body they are spared the use of strongboxes.

[583] The women and children are the ones who wear jewels most. They go into the trousseau of the young bride, and parents give them to their children as the latter grow up, thus putting together a sort of dowry for the time when they reach the age of marriage.

301 306 [180] Gold and silver are used in making jewelry, and precious stones such as rubies, sapphires and various genuine or imitation gems are sometimes added as ornaments.

Gold is not used in all parts of Laos, but is mainly limited to
the large centers located near regularly worked gold-bearing deposits.
[563] Doubtless because of the application of ancient sumptuary laws,
silver is the only metal used by certain races—even by the Khas,

301
306
ho work gold mines--and by the inhabitants of several regions,
hose state of fortune would nevertheless enable them to use a more [563]
recious metal.

Jewelry and examples of the goldsmith's art are found in different
orms and types which vary greatly with the region and race, as will
e seen by the nomenclature given in Chapter IX.

Food. The Laotian scorns the pleasures of the table, and is 262
enerally a moderate eater and drinker. Steam-cooked glutinous
ice forms the basis of his food supply. To this he adds salt, peppers,
arious other spices, fresh or preserved fish, etc. Besides these, but
ess frequently, his day-to-day diet may be varied with poultry, eggs,
uffalo meat, beef and pork, as well as venison. To be sure, it is
ainly on the occasion of public or private festivals, which are
airly numerous in the course of the year, that the Laotian improves
n his usual rather frugal fare in this way.

The customary beverage is water which may be taken directly 271
rom the rivers or first be hastily decanted into jars or water-coolers 273
f porous earthenware. In general, Laotians prefer water taken
irectly from the river to that which has been filtered. Finally, the
eople of Laos consume rice brandy which is obtained by distillation,
nd a kind of beer made by cold fermentation of rice mixed with
addy husks.

The use of these drinks, aside from rare exceptions, is reserved [527]
or holidays.

Physical appearance, character, occupations. The Laotian's 152
character is, in general, mild, friendly and happy. His physiognomy
is [181] open and smiling. Not quarrelsome by nature, he even
hrinks from coming to blows in extreme cases and prefers to end a
dispute with an outburst of laughter rather than with blows.

Since, all in all, it has few needs and inhabits a land with
luxuriant vegetation which is abundantly favored with products to be
had for the scavenging, this happy people can easily satisfy its needs
and be content with its fate. [Illustration alongside text here.]

It is assuredly lazy, but out of indifference much rather than 461
out of any deliberate intent. It cannot grasp the advantage or utility
of a regular and prolonged effort beyond what is strictly necessary to
provide it with a living and a few distractions to which, in reality,
its own joyous disposition makes the greatest contribution.

To the men are reserved the chief tasks, which have a more 462
virile and noble character than those which are the women's lot. 241

526
50
Tribal Tai

[525] s the long pirogue, and the jockeys are the oarsmen. Nor will it be n vain to remark that, as in our races, heavy wagers are often laid 422 by the owners and the lovers of this kind of sport.

Thais or Phou-Thais. The Thais or Phou-Thais are divided into 619 four distinct groups. These are:

144
175

1. The Khao-Thais (white);
2. The Dam-Thais (black);
3. The Deng-Thais (red);
4. The Neua-Thais (northern).

The Khao-Thais are the result of marriages between Chinese men and Dam-Thai women, or vice versa, although the former case is the most frequent. They do not form large agglomerations, but only isolated family groups in the midst of the surrounding population. They are found only in the northern part of the Sih-Song-Chau-Thais, a territory which is dependent on Laos from the ethnographic point of view but administratively attached to Tonkin.

The following is what is known of their origin: [229] [Illustration] [230] [Blank page] [231]

"Around 1600 a rebel Chinese leader assembled a few partisans, set sail from Canton and landed at Haiphong. From there he went on to Bac-Ninh, continually increasing the number of his men. At Bac-Ninh the rebel leader received an envoy from the king of Annam, who asked him to help put down the Thais and the Muongs of the Black River. The Chinese leader accepted, and after leaving Bac-Ninh he went to Lao-Kay, from which point he soon entered the province of the Sib-Sing-Chau-Thais. After defeating the Thais and the Muongs he was given this province out of gratitude for his help. His troops, worn out by the campaign, settled in the country and lost no time in marrying Thai women. It was from such unions that the white Thais were born" (1).

(1) E. Picanon, op. cit. [Le Laos français, Paris, 1901.]

619 Dam-Thais and Deng-Thais. These two varieties have a common origin and belong to the same family (2). The different names which

563

(2) Thais are found in nearly all of Laos, where they are scattered among the Laotian population. They are particularly numerous in the Hua-Pahn, where they are in the majority in certain muongs.

619
[291] they bear come, as in the case of the Khao-Thais, from peculiarities
of costume. In fact, whereas the Dam-Thais, both men and women,
563 only wear clothing which is dark blue and almost black, with no
colored ornamentation, the Deng-Thais, although they wear the
same kind of clothing, always add a few ornaments such as embroidery,
galloons or red turbans.

142 Physical appearance. Costume. The Thais have strongly marked
features and stern faces. Their complexion is clear and rather swarthy,
461 and they are quite tall. They are more hardy and above all more
industrious than the Laotians.

Like the Annamites, the men let their hair grow. They bind it
302 up in a coil on the top of the head and cover it with a vast turban,
291 the ends of which fall onto their shoulders on either side of the face.
Men's clothing consists of a broad pair of trousers with a very low
seat and a straight tunic buttoned along the side which comes down
to the knees. A sort of sash made of the same kind of cloth hugs the
[286] waist over the tunic, as a belt would do. The material used by the
Thais for clothing are made of cotton which is generally grown locally
and which the [232] women spin, weave and dye themselves. Their
garments, made with very coarse, irregular thread, have a rough appearance but are very solid.

The women's figures are thick-set but not fleshy. Their faces,
142 which are more rounded than elongated, are pleasant and their eyes
are beautiful. But childbearing and the work of the fields soon destroy
their gracefulness, and after the age of twenty-five their figures thicken,
their wrists and ankles become heavy and their faces begin to harden
and wrinkle. [Illustration alongside text here]

[286] The Thai woman wears a skirt which is quite similar to the Laotian
skirt, but made of coarser cloth and dyed the same color as the men's
291 clothing. Over this she wears a very short jacket made of the same
cloth which is buttoned down the front and sometimes embellished
563 with chased silver work. The height of elegance is for the jacket to
be cut in such a way that when the woman moves in a certain way it
lets a little skin be seen above the skirt waist. Outside the home and for
ceremonies the women put on a sort of dressing gown which covers their
other clothing and comes down to the ankle. Its sleeves are very close-fitting, and the garment buttons straight down the front to a point below
the waist. A strip of dark violet cloth, for the Dam-Thais, and red for

Tribal Tai

291 the Deng-Thais, is applied to the edges of the gown. It is further
563 ornamented [233] on the outside edge opposite the buttonholes
with colored silk embroidery which does not go down below the waist.

This garment is also folded in half lengthwise and worn rolled around the body with the sleeves left hanging.

302 The women wear their hair parted down the middle in front
and rolled into a sort of long tassel behind which is contained within
301 the folds of a little turban. The latter is wound above the forehead
and the free end inserted under the first turn, on the nape of the neck.
This headdress is quite similar to that of the Annamite women in Tonkin.

In certain regions of Laos, Thai women wind their hair into a sort of coil which girls wear loosely down their neck and betrothed or married women wear on top of the head. Thai jewelry is made of heavy silver and is of the same type as Laotian jewelry. The men wear bracelets on their wrists.

262 Food. The Thai diet is like that of the Laotians, but they prefer
non-glutinous white rice and use chopsticks like the Chinese and
264 Annamites.

The use of betel is quite widespread among the Thais, but in
276 contrast to the Laotians they keep their teeth white. The Thais smoke
the oily, opiated tobacco of Tonkin and China in bamboo waterpipes
whose tiny bowls only contain a small pinch of tobacco. They also
smoke a local variety of tobacco, either in cigarettes or in pipes with
a highly worked clay bowl into which a long stem ending in a glass or
jade mouthpiece is inserted.

156 Character. Although serious and reflective, the Thais have a
vivacious and friendly character. They are somewhat cold in appearance
but are sound friends and highly affable when one gets to know them
better.

[701] Gentler and more timid than the Laotians, they have no taste for
the art of war and it is difficult to get them to stay in the native
militia.

433 They are very self-seeking and much more miserly than the Lao-
tians. [234] It should be noted, moreover, that since they produce
438 everything themselves and are a people of farmers and livestock
breeders, they do not have, by virtue of their ever sedentary occupations,
156 the opportunities which these latter have to enjoy fairly high profits
resulting from commercial transactions, nor the special habits which
contact with different races gives.

181 The Thais love pleasure and celebrations. Guaranteed their daily
461

149: Reinach--179 G-3 (no date) 1901 AM1 Indochina
Laotians AM8
Tribal Tai

Men's and women's clothing varies little in [244] form from that of the Thais. Under their jacket, however, the women wear a breast-cloth attached to the neck and waist by cords, like the Annamite and Tonkinese women. 291

The Lus. Two centuries or so ago the Lus, who also belong to the Thai race, used to live in the "Shan states" between the Salouen and the Nam-Hon, where they were surrounded by a drifting population composed of Burmese, Kunes, Ngieous, etc. [Illustration alongside text here.] 619 175

Following emigrations, they came to Laos and formed two distinct agglomerations.

Some Lu families have settled in the course of this century on the territory of Luang-Prabang. Today these Lus form villages composed exclusively of people of their race, but live on good terms with the Laotians, whose language and customs they have adopted. [563]

In the old Lu kingdom of Muong-Sing, on the other hand, this people has retained its habits, that is to say its character and temperament are like those of the Burmese. 101

There the Lu is boastful, full of arrogance, a braggart and insolent, but a little firmness is enough to humble his pride. [105]

Lus have a clear complexion, delicate features, keen eyes and a swinging stride. The men are generally tattooed from the calf of the leg to above the navel, and they also have tattoos on their chest, [245] neck, shoulders and arms which are generally red and in the shape of squares with rounded corners. They have long hair rolled in a coil on top or slightly to one side of the head. This coil is wrapped in an enormous turban which they wear tilted over one ear. Many of them have a moustache. This they train upwards, a trait which gives them a conquering air, and to keep it up they smear it with wax. [Illustration alongside text here] 142 304 302

The men's costume consists of a pair of full trousers and a short jacket buttoned along the side. It is made of cotton and is dark blue, almost black, in color. The bottoms of the trousers, the edges of the jacket, the cuffs of the sleeves and the armholes are ornamented with three galloons (blue, white and red) which are quite narrow. Their holiday clothes are often made of silk in varied colors. 291

The women wind their hair into a heavy coil on top of the head and on the side of the coil they place a broad circular plaque of chased silver. They wear skirts like the Laotian women, but the stripes are very broad, run crosswise and are in bright colors. They [302] [301]

149: Reinach—183 G-3 (no date) 1901 AM1 Indochina

Laotians AM8

Kha

"The most varied types are to be found among the Khas. Some are just like the American 'Redskins,' others have a heavier and more bestial appearance, and still others are small and puny. Certain of them are veritable savages who have never heard of clothing and live in shapeless huts, taking to the trees or fleeing into the forest at the slightest alarm, with monkey-like habits and the instincts of wild animals. 142 291

"Others, on the other hand, wear clothing quite like that of the Lus, build proper houses and enjoy a comparative degree of civilization. But they all carry a bag of dark blue cloth which never leaves them.

"It is a long way between the primitives which some of them are and the half-civilized beings which the better policed among them are. Thus the greater part of these poor folk have long been in servitude, especially in the northern and central part, and have become the humble servants of more highly refined races which exploit them. 563

"In the south, however, some tribes of particular origin have been able to resist all outer authority and are still free and independent today." [Lieutenant-colonel Tournier (Superior Resident in Laos), "Notice sur le Laos français," in Revue Indochinoise, Hanoi, 1900.]

The Khas of northern Laos. All the Khas of northern Laos have been brought under control, and even emancipated, and live grouped in villages or hamlets which are distributed over the mountainsides, generally near some watercourse. 361

Houses. Kha houses, which are built on piles and in the same style as those of the Laotians although in less careful fashion, are set down without any care for symmetry or alignment. They are generally much smaller and built for a single family. The houses are extremely dirty. 242

The Khas have very little in the way of large livestock, and so the under part of the houses shelter only pigs and poultry. 231

A few Kha tribes, such as the Khouenes (white and black), Khmous and Lemets, which are the most civilized have quite fine villages with well built and carefully aligned houses. A pagoda will sometimes be found in these. 361

Costume. Khas of both sexes wear their hair long and wound in a coil on the nape of the neck or top of the head. The [258] Lemets comb part of their hair down over their forehead and cut it off straight at the eyebrow level. 291

Hill Tribes
Kha

equipment.

411 [264] "It should be noted that these folk do not have rifles. Their crossbows are quite large, and shoot pointed barbed arrows, which are poisoned in time of war, over great distances.

"The spears are of average length. The shafts are made of very beautiful bamboo, and the iron points are of varied shapes.

"The swords have long hilts ornamented with tin, and the blades are slightly curved.

"Among the Djarais bucklers are made of wood and shielded with tin. Among the Kasengs they are made of buffalo hide, and among the Cedangs of buckskin with the fleece left on.

"Among the Cedangs the bucklers take the shape of a shield, while their shape varies among the others." (Le Laos français.)

[Lieutenant-colonel Tournier (Superior Resident in Laos). "Notice sur le Laos français," in Revue Indochinoise, Hanoi, 1900.]

563
619 Khas of mixed blood. In the section on races we have seen what mixtures were produced from crossings between Khas and other members of the great Thai family. Their distribution is as follows:

1. The Phou-Phays and Phou-Thengs are found scattered everywhere throughout northern Laos;

2. Sos and Seks are found in Luang-Prabeng, Tran-Ninh and Cammon;

3. The Soues inhabit the high valleys of the Se-Bang-Hien and the Sedone and the northern slopes of the plateau of the Bolovens.

The evolution of all these mixed blood varieties is not yet complete, and many have partly retained their original dialects. Certain tribes, however, have completely adopted the mores and languages of the dominant races to which they owe their existence, and these have pagodas, bonzes, etc.

RACES OF MONGOL ORIGIN

619
563 We know that individuals of Mongol origin inhabit northern Laos and are grouped in three principal varieties known as Hos, Meos and Yaos.

The Hos. The Hos are inhabitants of Yunnan who came to Laos either with the robber bands (1875-1888) or with caravans. [265] [Illustration] [266] [Blank page] [267]

They settled in Laos, abandoning their guns and packs to become farmers, hog breeders, tea planters, ect.

149: Reinach--190 G-3 (no date) 1901 AM1 Indochina

Laotians AM8

Hill Tribes

Almost all are of low birth and are crude and illiterate. They have married Thai or Kha women and thereby founded a stock of halfbreeds. This race is destined to merge with the mass of the Laotians or Thai population and through successive crossings lose all distinctive characteristics. 619 563

The Meos. The Meos are also Yunnanese who have retained a degree of independence and have not been marked with the Chinese imprint like the Hos or adopted baggy clothes and the custom of wearing their hair only in a braid.

They are distributed in groups of a few families each of which live on the peaks of the mountains in northern Laos and the Sib-Song Chau-Thais. They can be divided into three great families--the blacks, the whites and the reds--which owe their names to the color of certain parts of the women's costume. Thus among the black and red Meos skirts or jackets are light blue in color, but the latter have a wide collar ornamented with black or red embroidery. Finally, a small turban with black and white checks or of red material, depending on the case, completes their garb. Among the white Meos, the women wear a skirt and jacket of unbleached cloth, with a white and blue embroidered collar. [391] 291

The men's clothing is light blue in all cases. It is composed of a broad pair of trousers which come down somewhat below the calf, where the legs are drawn tight, and of a short, tight-sleeved jacket which buttons down one side.

A turban winds around the head and covers their long hair, which may be rolled or braided. 301

The women's hair is parted and wound on the upper part of the nape of the neck in a coil. (1)

(1) See Appendix XIX.

The Meos practice ancestor worship primarily, like many Asian peoples. They have no pagodas or bonzes, but elders perform the office of priests and also administer justice. 769

[268] The Meos bury their dead, and make animal sacrifices on the occasion of births, marriages and deaths so as to gain the favor of the "Phis" or multiple and varied genii in whose existence and influence they believe.

Marriage is as simple as among the other peoples of Laos. [581

Divorce may occur either through mutual consent or in the case of adultery. 586]

314 Indeed scavenging, that is to say the gathering of forest products,
hunting and fishing, is all that is needed besides rice and maize to
supply the day to day needs of the native and even provide him with a
comparatively important basis for trade.

Forest Products

1. Benzoin (Khab-Niane).

314 Benzoin is extracted from the tree called Styrax benzoin, by means
824 of incisions made on the trunk. The benzoin trees (Kok-Khab-Niane)
are localized in Upper Tran-Ninh, the south of the Hua-Pahn and the
north of the province of Luang-Prabang. They are not cultivated in
563 any way. The resin or gum is harvested at certain times of the year,
generally by the Khas, at the foot of the trees and along the trunk,
where it coagulates in masses or tears.

Benzoin is collected in its natural state, that is to say in tears of various sizes and in breakages. In the production centers it is separated into three grades: large and medium tears, medium and small tears, and small pieces and breakages. In the transit markets these three grades are sorted and screened and once more divided into six kinds or types, which are: large tears, medium tears, small tears, mixed large, mixed medium, and finally tiny fragments and dust.

431 A few years ago a chemical process was [329] discovered, it would
seem, for extracting certain of the aromatic alkaloids contained in
benzoin from coal, and the market value of this product suddenly
dropped by more than sixty percent. At the present time, depending
435 on the grade, the market price in Luang-Prabang is from 90 to 115
francs per hundred kilograms (1), in Nong-Khay from 100 to 135
788 francs, and in Korat from 120 to 160 francs.

314 Part of the benzoin production is consumed locally in the manu-
439 facture of sticks of incense for use in worship. All the rest is exported
to Bangkok and from there to Europe. A very small proportion is sent
to Tonkin by way of the Black River. Upon its arrival in Bangkok, ben-
zoin from Laos is worth twice as much as in Luang-Prabang.

824
2. Crimson lake or stick-lac (Khang-Deng).

314 This gum is produced by an insect of the "cochineal" type, the

(1) We have deemed it preferable to give the price in francs and per hundred kilograms, since the reader may not be familiar with Laotian weights and currency.

Rice is grown in two different ways in Laos: in inundated ricefields on plains or hills, and in rais or [357] temporary mountain clearings. Only one crop is harvested per year, from November to January, since the Laotians do not practice artificial irrigation and count only on the water supplied by rain. 243 [312]

Maize is always grown in rais or on the edge of terraced hillside ricefields. In southern Laos only the Khas have any in their fields. The Laotians produce maize only in their gardens, as a vegetable. [563]

Glutinous or aquatic rice grows well only on low, hot, swampy land where the soil is heavy. Dry rice, on the other hand, thrives only on ordinary soil which is moist and slightly sandy, and on heights up to an altitude of 1,800 meters where it can endure temperatures which are relatively low for tropical regions (5° and even lower).

Plains ricefields. The land in plains ricefields generally consists of soil containing a high percentage of vegetable matter. It is composed of alluvia worked by earthworms and containing organic vegetable matter in decomposition. The clayish and sandy soil is deep enough to permit growth and nourishment of the plant roots. It generally rests either on rock, or on a compact sediment or on an alluvial strata which has a higher clay content and has not been penetrated by worms. This bottom layer prevents the ground water which is indispensable to the growth of the grain from escaping.

Terraced ricefields. In the ricefields which are terraced or arranged in steps, and which are situated on hillsides or the lower slopes of the mountains which enclose high valleys, the layer of vegetable matter is fairly thin. This is due to the fact that rocky particles removed from the peaks by running water have been deposited on natural terraces where they form a kind of alluvial cone. Man's handiwork has extended and leveled them, and arranged them in such a way that the alluvia will not be carried lower. Dikes or levees of earth and stones limit the successive terraces which cover the slopes, like the steps of a gigantic stairway. They hold back the vegetable soil, and at the same time their inner faces [358] constitute the walls of irrigation canals which circulate from one step to another from the top of the hills to the bottom, diverting into the furrows, through slits which may be opened at will, the waters of a brook or torrent which has been captured at a higher level. 243 312

Rais. Rais take their name from a Siamese unit of area measurement which is applied to ricefields and which represents a square forty meters on a side, or 1,600 square meters. They are [804] 243

249 The amount of paper produced is hardly significant, and is limited to
289 local needs.

245 TEA. Tea is the most important crop of the Sib-Song-Pahn-Na
311 and the Burmo-Shan States on both banks of the Mekong. The regions of production are included between 21° 30' and 22° 30' N. latitude and between 97° 30' and 99° 40' E. longitude.

[175] The greater part of these regions, that is to say those situated on the left bank of the Mekong, belonged to us by the terms of the 1887
648 Franco-Chinese treaty of Tien-Tsin. But because of our slowness to occupy these territories England inherited the rights of Upper Burma and ceded them to China, and finally only the two Muong-Hou remained in our possession.

[563] Unfortunately, the small tea-growing region left to us is not only the least productive, but also the one in which tea-growing has degenerated and is no longer practiced except by the Khas.

[377] Yet the climate of the Muong-Hou is similar to that of Man-La, which is located thirty kilometers to the west and whose tea has the same reputation as those of I-Hou, I-Bang, Muong-Hing, Muong-Pang and Muong-Yang, all of which are known as "S'semao and Pou-Eurl Teas." Furthermore, the altitude and configuration of the soil, the nature of the terrain and the varieties of tea plants are all similar in our territory of Muong-Hou and in that of Man-La. But as a consequence of various circumstances and especially of a long interruption in cultivation between 1884 and 1893, most of the tea plants have not been pruned. They have reached a height of more than six meters and the tea which they produce is almost valueless (1).

(1) See Appendix XXVI.

The average production of the whole tea-growing region has been estimated at from 600 to 660 tons. This tea is exported to China, to Burma, to Laos, to Tonkin and to Siam. In 1891 and 1892 France imported a trial shipment of 6,000 kilograms, but the transaction was not repeated because of a rise in transport costs and customs duties which did not leave a large enough profit for the importer.

[435] In the regions of production prices vary, depending on quality, between 75 and 150 francs per hundred kilograms.

The teas which come from this region meet with little approval in Europe, because they lack the various aromas which the Chinese

• [563] 231 The breed of horses in Laos is therefore continuing to degenerate. Certain Kha tribes (Djarais and Rades), however, still possess very fine specimens, but these Khas will not sell their horses and mares except with a great deal of urging and at a very high price. They never come and offer their horses to buyers, and only by chance can the latter discover any by traveling through their villages. It is a certain fact that most of the fine horses of Phu-Yen and Binh-Dinh come from the region of the Rades (1).

[654] (1) The establishment of a depot of stud-horses in Darlac, in the midst of these Kha tribes, may soon give excellent results from the point of view of production and breeding.

In southern Laos, no epizootic disease has yet been noted among horses. The same is not the case in northern Laos, where it causes great ravages every year in the province of Vien-Poukha. The progress of this epidemic has been described in the following manner by M. Garanger, former Government Commissioner at Vien-Poukha:

"Well before any exterior symptoms of the disease appear, the horse manifests a bad disposition, sulks over its food, carries its head low and is anxious to lie down. Its hair becomes dull.

"Then under the abdomen a swelling appears which extends from the breast to the testicles (to the vulva in mares). It rapidly increases in volume and grows as thick as a man's hand. The scrotum and penis (the vulva in mares) [400] take on an abnormal growth. Exploration by hand reveals considerable obstruction in the hollow space within the lower jaw, yet there is no discharge.

"The animal then has difficulty in walking, then the hindquarters act as though paralyzed. It falls down in the stable and remains down until death, which is not far off.

"The period of algidity varies in length. Old horses do not last more than seven or eight days after the swelling forms, while young animals may not die until around the twentieth day.

"The epidemic always strikes during the rainy season and seems especially active in July and August.

"If the carcass is opened after death it is found that the whole interior (viscera) is covered with thousands of little black dots the size of a pinhead. This disease seems to be extremely contagious. In vain did I practice isolation and burn three contaminated stables in succession. Yet it also breaks out spontaneously, since it struck at the same time in Vien-Poukha, in Xieng-Khong and in the brush, 231 178 Attopeu; slopes of the plateau of the Bolovens; plains of the Se-Kampho and of the Se-Pien (2); plains of the upper Sebang-Khan and of the

(2) I have never crossed these great and beautiful plains which stretch as far as the eye can see between these two rivers which have water all year long, intersected here and there by wooded hills whose slopes provide the herds with a refuge and with a guaranteed food supply during the inundation of the lowlands--an inundation lasting three or four months--without regretting that no European colonist has ever thought of taking advantage of this situation. (Report of the Superior Commandant of Lower Laos, April 1897.)

Ia-Drang.

231 435 The sale prices for buffalo and oxen vary from one point to another and are also subject to fluctuations due to the age, stature, abundance or scarcity of the stock, the law of supply and demand, etc.

In 1899 livestock exports from Lower Laos only were 2,184 oxen valued at 54,600 francs, 362 cows valued at 5,430 francs and 3,144 buffalo valued at 235,800 francs, or a total of 6,690 head with a value of 295,830 francs.

In Lower Laos buffalo sold for from 50 to 112 francs in 1899, and oxen for from 20 to 30 francs. In Upper Laos the prices for [406] buffalo varied from 60 to 110 francs. Oxen may cost more or less there, depending on whether they are trained as draft and pack animals or fattened for export. In the first case they bring from 40 to 70 francs and in the second from 10 to 15 francs.

231 262 Pigs. Pigs are used mainly for food by the natives, who consume a great many. The meat of this animal enjoys great favor among the population, and it is pork which, prepared either alone or with fish, enters most often into the composition of meals. [Illustration here]

[563] The Lus, the Meos, the Chinese and the Khas are past masters at raising pigs, and their stock might figure successfully in our regional competitions. They fatten them in closed compartments, after first castrating them.

231 The most common variety is the one known as "Cochinchinese or Tonkinese pig." It is gray with white spots and sometimes almost black, and bears on its back a mane of long, stiff bristles similar to those of the wild boar. Even when domesticated these pigs have

439
563
Goods are imported in the northern part of the land by the Hos, the Burmese and the Ngieous, in the form of merchandise from Yunnan, Tibet, China, India and even Europe. They include furs, iron and copper pots, tin, cotton and silk clothing, small wares, tea, articles for opium smokers, horses, silk, cotton and light wool goods, lacquered boxes, swords, machetes, rifles, etc.

In the middle region and the south, Chinese, Cambodians, Siamese, Annamites and Europeans import the following articles: salt, cloth goods, thread, hats, knit wear, blankets, umbrellas, petroleum, matches (1), worship articles, dyes, bars of iron, porcelain bowls, perfumes, clocks and watches, glassware, paper goods, hardware, copper goods, nails, locks, drugs, a few Chinese staples, etc.

Since Laos has no direct access to the sea, it has no maritime outlets. It gives up its export products to middlemen established in Siam, Yunnan, Annam, Cambodia or Cochinchina, and these middlemen re-export Laotian products to various overseas markets or resell them on the spot for local consumption.

3. PRESENT-DAY COMMERCIAL ESTABLISHMENTS, COMMERCIAL PROCEDURES.

439
441
563
Just about everyone engages in trade in Laos, in highly variable proportions, to be sure, and each according to his resources. There are, however, real merchants, [422] businessmen and traders who are the middlemen between the native producers and the exporters in neighboring countries or on the coast. The greater number of these, and also the most active ones, are the Chinese, then come the Hos and the Burmese. They may act either on their own account, or in behalf of a small local syndicate, or again as representatives of Chinese or European houses established in the ports.

The Laotians are more likely to operate individually or in family groups financed by nobles, officials of high rank or wealthy men who use this means of putting to work the capital which business has already brought them.

---

(1) Of Japanese manufacture imported through Bangkok and Moulmein, and of Annamite or Tonkinese manufacture imported through Saigon and Vinh.

567 426 as early as March of 1896, in a report which we believe it will be of value to reproduce in part, as well as a code of rules as ingenious as they were just governing slavery for debt (1).

(1) See Appendix XXVIII.

567 563 Finally, there is a kind of serfdom in Laos which is applied to certain Kha tribes. Thus in the kingdom of Luang-Prabang, subsequent to revolts, entire tribes of Khas were reduced to a state of serfdom and placed under the patronage of the king, of princes, or of the principal members of the nobility. In 1894 our administration undertook to liberate these Khas, who are completely free today. In southern Laos most of these latter are still the clients of a few nobles or Laotian officials, but the guardianship is a gentle one which they can abandon and resume at will.

2. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

178 642 Under our control, as has been noted above, the political organization of Laos has remained what it was before 1893. We have respected the customs and local traditions, and we govern through the native administration in which all the machinery has been retained.

643 [490] The following is a nearly complete list of all the officials in a large Muong such as the kingdom of Luang-Prabang or of Bassac (1

(1) The kingdom of Luang-Prabang is situated on both banks of the Mekong, but the king resides on the left bank at Luang-Prabang and is consequently dependent on the French authorities. The kingdom of Bassac is today wholly on the right bank, and the king of Bassac falls under Siamese domination. The title of king is sometimes given also to the "Tiao-Fa" or head of the province of Muong-Sing. The head of a muong in the Sib-Song-Pahn-Na may be a "Tso-boua," a "Phya-Hua" or a "Sen-Houi-Fa," depending on his importance.

At the head are the Kings, two in number:

Somdet-Phra-Tiao or Tiao-Tsi-Vite-Louang, first king, great master of existences.

644 Tiao-Maha-Oupahat or Tiao-Tsi-Vite-Vang-Na, second king, great master responsible for conservation of property. [Illustration here]

whatsoever of respect is to be seen in this liberty.

3. JUDICIAL SYSTEM

692
563

In French Laos, justice is meted out by the native tribunals:

1. In accordance with the codes of Vien-Tiane (1) or Luang-Prabang for all individuals of the Thai race and for Khas of certain tribes;

2. In accordance with the Burmese customs which are peculiar to the Lus of the territory of Muong-Sing;

3. In accordance with their particular customs for the individuals of various races--Meos, Yaos, etc.--who are not subject to any of the above codes.

The judgments of the native tribunals are examined, and revised or approved if the need should arise, by the French authorities.

Matters of little importance, such as those which fall under the jurisdiction of our justices of the peace, are settled by canton heads or the heads of villages.

Acts qualified as criminal by our law are judged by a mixed province tribunal presided over by the government commissioner who is head of the province. He is seconded by a native assessor and by a secretary-clerk. Such tribunals sit in the capital of each province. [498] In reaching its decisions, it takes its inspiration from the native laws and customs, insofar as they agree with our sentiments of humanity and dignity and with the spirit of French law. It judges appeal cases which have already come before the native tribunals.

Finally a superior court, presided over by the superior resident aided by two assessors, one European and the other a native, fulfills the functions of a court of appeal with respect to the mixed province tribunals.

Foreign Orientals, that is to say Annamites, Cambodians, Chinese, Burmese, Siamese, etc., may be judged only by the mixed province tribunals. As for Europeans, they are subject only to the regularly constituted French tribunals of Tonkin and Cochinchina.

693 The venality of the magistrates in Laos cannot be denied, as in all of the Far East, and the natives generally prefer our arbitration to that of their natural judges. They say that we render justice free of charge, while their own magistrates take more notice of the offerings

---

(1) See Appendix XXIX.

000 are incapable of any initiative or any work.

The Laotian people taken as a whole needs to be guided and sustained at once firmly and gently. In accordance with the hallowed expression, "an iron hand in a velvet glove" is needed to lead them. What we need to make them understand, in order that they may profit thereby, is that the only purpose of the improvements which are proposed is to procure them a greater sum of well-being, a good which they are far from scorning.

By taking possession of Laos, it is to be hoped that we have assured its security for all time. The appreciable development of agriculture and trade during these last few years is proof that [513] [Illustration] [514] [Blank page] [515] the inhabitants have grasped the goal which we are pursuing. To increase the country's resources in order to bring about prosperity, this is the task to be accomplished. It is a duty which we cannot shirk without betraying our traditions, and without losing our prestige in the eyes of the peoples which have welcomed us as liberators and protectors in the true sense of the word, who conquered them by the heart and not by fire and sword.

2. COLONIZATION METHODS

Although some of the higher regions of Laos have a climate approaching that of Algeria, it is not a colony to be populated. 464 513 Europeans cannot engage in continuous physical labor there, and must limit themselves to a role of direction and supervision, leaving the heavy manual work to Orientals.

The question of labor is thus of prime importance for utilization of the country's resources. Yet given the sparse population density, its lack of aptitudes and the great distances between inhabited centers, it would seem to be no easy matter to count on the Laotians. They are above all a people of boatmen, drovers, carters and carnacs.

Nor can one employ the Khas. Although good mine, forest and agricultural workers, provided they do not have to leave their mountains and their forests, they are unsuited to any kind of work in the plains or low valleys.

Thus no other solution is left to the problem of recruiting workers than to have recourse to Annamite or Chinese immigration. Now, the Annamite is afraid to move; he (especially the delta Annamite) dreads staying in regions which are at all mountainous (1). Prejudices, super-

(1) The first Europeans who came to Laos know how difficult it was to recruit, in Annamite territory, a suitable force of "boys"

who were disposed to follow them.

464 stitions and perhaps also the opposition of the mandarins who for
563 centuries have tried [516] to prevent any exodus towards the lands
situated beyond the mountains, have in the long run made him a
stay-at-home.

This industrious, intelligent and prolific people prefers to struggle
000 for life in agglomerations which are too dense, rather than emigrate
in order to obtain a life of well-being and ease.

We should not, however, despair of ever seeing the Annamites spread into Laos and there provide a powerful force for repopulation and make the low plains which border the Mekong from Cammon to Cambodia bear fruit. It is up to us to destroy the legends, to reduce to nothingness the superstitions which have gained currency, and then to use our influence to bring an end to the ostracism in which Laos is held. Does it not belong today to the great Indo-Chinese family in which all the component peoples are French subjects in the same right?

On the day when the mandarins no longer sustain a fear of Laos and a dread of slavery among the Annamites, it will be possible to indu them to emigrate into the Mekong basin. The colonies already in existence, particularly at certain points in Cammon, will grow from that day on through the addition of newcomers. We must not deceive ourselves into thinking that such immigration will not take time, and so in order to meet our most pressing needs European colonies in Laos will have to appeal to laborers from the southern provinces of China and especially from the island of Hainan, that inexhaustible reservoir which has supplied coolies to several parts of the world for so many years.

But, it will be asked, is Laos ready to welcome colonists who want to work the mines and forests and to engage in trade, agriculture and livestock breeding? We believe that, in the present state of communications, some of these undertakings are possible at this moment and that others cannot hope to succeed until the country's economic equipment has developed.

316 As concerns commerce and the exploitation of forests and mines,
we have noted that several attempts have already been made. These
313 are valuable indications showing the [517] courses which isolated
colonists or companies which would like to employ their capital in our
185 new possession can follow as of the present time. Indeed, such under-
takings yield profits almost from the very beginning, and if they are

[102]

APPENDIX XVII

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLES OF LAOS

I

563 144 174 Which was the truly autochthonous race, whence did it come, and what were its mores and customs? No one can answer this question, and the only statement which can be advanced is that the savage peoples must have settled in the Indo-Chinese peninsula at a time when present-day Indo-China did not yet exist, geologically speaking, and when a greater or lesser part of the Asiatic continent was covered by water.

Coming from the Malay Archipelago, the Khas occupied the south of the peninsula at first and immediately entered into a struggle with the aborigines. Stronger and more intelligent, they drove the aborigines back into the forests and mountains and founded groups and colonies in their midst which gradually absorbed the first occupants, until that day when the victorious Khas came up against men of the yellow race who drove them back into the mountains in their turn, and into the poorest and most remote parts of the land.

Coming down from the high plateaus of central Asia, probably from Tibet, the men of yellow race came in through the northwest and at first occupied the northern provinces of the immense territory which was later to make up the Chinese empire. These natives, whom the Chinese chroniclers designate by the name of Y, that is to say "Bearers of large bows," and by the name of "Miao-Tsé," or "Sons of the uncultivated fields," were driven back in their turn by new invaders. They then fell back into the southern provinces and sought refuge on little-accessible peaks where more or less pure types of their ancient race may still be found today, and from there they spread into the valleys of the Mekong, the Menam, the Salouen and the Irrawaddy. Isolated from one another as a consequence of their expansion, these individuals of primitive race became mixed with one another and with the first inhabitants of the conquered regions, and gave birth to intermediary sub-races and to distinct groups whose character and even number is very difficult to determine. Language 171 177 became [103] differentiated, the kind of handwriting used was influenced by the proximity of more powerful peoples, dress changed, and yet all of them preserved analogous usages and beliefs which militate in favor of a common origin. Thence arises the necessity of seeking the origin of these peoples in the diversity of families, ~~tribes~~, sub-races and races which successively shared the extreme provinces of present-day China and Indo-China(1)

(1) E. PICANON, LE LAOS Français, 1901 CHALLAMEL. [PARI

175
291
177
[104] taken after the Cambodians in this respect--that they later adopted the "sampot" and formed the habit of cutting their hair very short, just as the Thais of Lai-Chau today dress like their Chinese neighbors and wear their hair in a long pigtail. The same reasons may also explain modifications in language and writing, which must have been identical in the beginning.

563
144
Of the Phou-Thais who are settled today in the territory of Luang-Prabang, some--and these make up the greater number--are black Thais (aborigines) from Dien-Bien-Phu, with a darker coloration than the inhabitants of Lai-Chau, who are called white Thais for this reason. The others belong to this second variety.

The ones who sacked Luang-Prabang in 1887 under the leadership of Deo-Van-Tri were white Thais.

[304]
Youns. The Laotians living on the right bank of the Mekong at Xieng-Mai, Xieng-Sen, Muong-Nan, etc. are called Youns. The only feature which distinguishes them from their fellows on the left bank is that they generally tattoo their stomachs, whereas the others tattoo the thighs and upper part of the legs, whence the names "Lao-Phoung-Khao" (white-bellied Laotians) and Lao-Phoung-Dam (black-bellied Laotians) which are used in designating the ones and the others.

Phais. Neither do the Phais constitute a separate racial group. They are Khas who are in the process of being transformed, Khas crossed with either Lus or Laotians according as their neighbors have been representatives of the first or the second of these races. Although after this contact they have begun to police themselves and to bring their way of life into conformity with that of the Lus or Laotians, they are nonetheless subject to the same regime as the Khas in respect to taxes and other matters.

563
175
Lus. The Lus, who are natives of the Sip-Song Pan-Nas, did not come and settle in any great numbers in the territory of Luang-Prabang until long after the Laotians, and then only in order to flee the war which was desolating their own land, or simply because they hoped to find better living conditions in this territory. The immigration took place in an entirely peaceful manner, and since that time the Lus have not ceased to live on good terms with the Laotians, whose mores and dress they have generally adopted and by whom they will soon be completely assimilated.

563
Khos, Meos, Yaos. These various names designate natives whose racial type, dress and hairdo ending in a queue unquestionably denote a Chinese origin, and who do not differ from one another except

563 in a few particulars. They all inhabit the peaks of mountains, where they generally engage in the cultivation of poppies and maize.

[439 241] **Hos.** The Hos are genuine Chinese who came in with the caravans from Yunnan and settled in the land to engage in trade or to grow cotton (1).

(1) According to a monograph by Government Commissioner Grand.

[105]

APPENDIX XVIII

NOTE ON THE EASTERN REGION OF LOWER LAOS (1)

[113] (1) Extract from a report by Colonel Tournier, Superior Commandant of Lower Laos. (Bulletin Economique de l'Indo-Chine, 1900, No. 19.)

PRESENT STATUS OF THE DIFFERENT KHA TRIBES

563 TRIBES LIVING ON THE GREAT ANNAMITIC CHAIN. 1. The tribe of Tha-Hoi may be regarded as being entirely pacified. It is a dependency of both Annam and Laos, but the spheres of influence of the two lands were perfectly delimited at the time of the establishment by Annam of the administrative post in Lao-Bao.

2. The Khon-Tou-Khas, the Ve-Khas and the Alak Khas are completely pacified and extremely tranquil. They are dependencies of Saravane.

Between the high valleys of the Se-Kemane and the Sesane (where the word Legnau, which is unknown in the region, is found on the Pavie map), there is an absolutely deserted region which serves as a buffer between the abovementioned tribes and the Cedangs.

[316] 563 567 3. The great tribe of the Cedangs, so far unconquerable. It occupies both sides of the chain, and its villages are situated in extremely difficult positions. The land is very poor, and until the last few years, besides the iron deposits which they work, their real commerce was the slave trade. All the Annamite slaves of the Mekong valley, both on the left bank and the right, came from raids made by these tribes in Annamite territory, even down as far as the sea. The abolition of slavery in Laos was a great blow to them, but since it is absolutely necessary for them to procure buffalo and oxen in order to live and especially for their superstitious practices, they still continue to make occasional captures in Annam and find a market for

Kha

563 their prisoners among the Djarais. This state of affairs cannot go on
567 [106] indefinitely, and after settling the question of the Djarais which
is more urgent, it will be necessary for Annam and Laos to pacify
these tribes by a common agreement.

563 4. Rognao, Bahnar, Goelar and Habau Khas. These tribes, over
797 whom the missionaries exercise moral authority and many of whose
villages are Catholic, can be regarded as pacified even though they
do not pay any tribute. I have previously explained why it would not
be politic, in my opinion, to require tribute in this region as of the
present time.

These tribes, which are entirely located in Laotian territory, are quite tranquil but in continual dread of undertakings by their Djarai neighbors.

563 5. The great Djarai tribe, which is by far the most important and
most numerous in the estimation of the missionaries. It is said to
include nearly 150,000 inhabitants and is the finest racial type which
I have seen in all the Kha region.

Many villages are subject to our authority and pay the head tax. Others, such as those which I found in the valley of the Psi and on the Sesane, obey our orders, keep the roads in repair, receive traders and travelers with perfect hospitality and will pay tribute whenever we wish.

563 But there are two groups which are absolutely rebellious to our
619 penetration. These are: 1) the groups of villages of Pley-Qho and
Pley-Denang immediately south of the mission; and 2), somewhat
643 further to the south, the group of the Sadetes whose two chieftains,
579 the kings of water and fire, inhabit the points which are marked on
the map as Pa-Tao-Ia and Pa-Tao-Ngo.

563 The first of these groups has continuously committed hostile
acts against us. They are the ones who attacked the convoy of M.
668 Navelle when this official came to visit the mission, who have
constantly attacked convoys on the road from Ang-Ke to Kon-Toum,
726 who more recently robbed a Laotian hunter of merchandise valued at
more than 1,000 piasters and pierced him with sword thrusts, and,
finally, who attacked M. Lacouture and killed one of his guides.
These villages are dreaded by all their neighbors. It was they against
whom Meyréna (1) marched, but his success was not sufficiently

(1) Since I have been led to pronounce the name of the man who dreamed of creating a Cedang kingdom, I should say a few words regarding this adventure which seems to me to have been greatly exaggerated.

Kha

•563 668 726 I shall not dwell on all the personalities implicated in the matter, for I have neither the right nor the means to define the responsibilities incurred, but shall simply say that his authority has never been recognized by the Khas in any effective fashion. In a gathering held in the common house of Kon-Hoirin and at which the representatives of some twenty Cedang villages were present, he appeared in the guise of one who had come to lead them in their defense against attacks by their neighbors and to command them against the enemy Djarais (the tribes of Pley-Qho and Pley-Denang, to be exact). His proposal was naturally accepted, and was also given sanction by some semblance of an expedition against the Djarais. When the Cedangs did not take all the booty and especially all the prisoners that they had anticipated, they broke off relations with Meyréna. What is more, when Father Vialleton, the director of the Catholic mission of the Bahnars and a man of extremely subtle mind, subsequently realized what the situation was, he did not want to enter into open conflict with Meyréna but was content to set up a confederation of the Bahnar, Rognac and Goelar tribes, a confederation which had the Kha chieftain of the village of Kon-Toum at its head, but which was under the moral and actual leadership of Father Vialleton. This master stroke, the only purpose of which had been to prevent Meyréna's authority from prevailing over these tribes, dealt the death blow to the kingdom of which he had dreamed and he was obliged to leave the country.

Such, in all its simplicity, is the truth of this adventure when disengaged from all the little incidents of a more or less humorous nature which occurred at the time.

followed up. It is [107] now necessary that this den of bandits should disappear or surrender. The hatred which they have aroused against themselves is so great that during my inspection tour all the neighboring tribes, including the Cedangs, asked permission to join forces with me and march against them immediately. I had to promise that satisfaction would be given them.

When this group has disappeared or surrendered, all the hesitant factions of Djarais, Salangs and Halangs-Doang will make their submission once and for all.

619 563 643 As for the second group, that of the Sadetes, the question is a ticklish one. The two Sadete kings are unquestionably the religious leaders of all the Kha tribes south of the Cedangs. According to the

619 traditions and the annals which I have been able to consult, they are
643 the descendants of the last kings of the land before the Cham invasion.
[648 The kings of Cambodia have had to appeal to them for help on one
or two critical occasions, and it was in return for services rendered
175] that the king of Cambodia, up until recent times, used to send them
● 563 presents every year (annual tribute, according to them, payment of
which stopped only five years ago).

They have never been willing to recognize our authority. The
[726] king of Pa-Tao-Ia, who is situated on the Laotian side, twice attacked
the Government Commissioners of Stung-Treng when the latter were
making a tour of inspection in this region, first in December 1894
and a second time in January 1897. They were given a severe lesson
this second time, for the village was entirely destroyed and they
suffered many losses. The Sadete Loum (the Master of water) settled
on the Annamite side alongside the Master of fire after the affair,
and since that time has given no further orders to our faithful Djarais.

[108]

APPENDIX XIX
NOTE ON THE MEOS

563 The Meo has a savage and distrustful character. He does not
609 like the presence of foreigners, or even of people of his own race.

Clinging to the side of a mountain, and always as high up as possible, he asks only to be allowed to live in peace in his wild solitude and bodes no ill to anyone provided he is left alone and independe

He is a great hunter of wild beasts and large game. More in-
433 dustrious than the Thais, he makes all his farming implements him-
241 self (picks and shovels), as well as his wooden buckets and mills for
grinding maize and paddy. He raises fine poultry, pigs, oxen, goats
231 and horses with particular care and success. If he stays in one place
for any length of time he also produces, in addition to the maize
and rice which form the basis of his food supply and the opium which
he smokes, very fine eggplants, gourds, sweet potatoes and non-
sweetened batatas very much like the common potato, sorrel, green
beans and all the French vegetables whose seeds are given him. On
his heights he cultivates the fruit trees which merely vegetate in
the plains, such as the peach tree, and the peaches which he harvests
can compete without any fear with those of our own country.

The Meo climbs like a cat. Over sheer paths, up ladders com-
516 posed of a single bamboo pole standing upright in which notches are
417 cut at regular intervals which are large enough for two toes, the Meo

has created a center for the study of Laos which will enable the country to be better known and better loved. From these works new elements will arise which will serve as a base for more detailed works which the reader can study to his advantage, while awaiting the publication of a new edition of this modest tract, whose only ambition is to increase the understanding of the habits, customs, and traditions of the Muong Lao. 114

May we express here our profound gratitude to His Royal Highness Prince Savang Vathana, heir to the throne, for the friendly interest he has ever shown in our work. We express our thanks to His Highness Boun Oum, Prince of Champassak, who has kindly pointed out to us monuments till now unknown. To L. L. E. E. Thao Kou Abhay, president of the King's Council and to Thao Nhouy Abhay, former minister, we are also indebted for certain information for which we are grateful. We thank Mr. Michaudel for the friendly and constant help he has given to the French School [5] of the Far East in Laos, and we also thank Mr. Malleret, director of this school, who has made useful suggestions. Finally, we express our thanks to Prince Souvanna Phouma and to the Princess for the consideration they have shown us on many occasions and for the encouragement they have given to this work. 122

[6 blank page]

[7]

HISTORICAL SKETCH

"...Then, Phou Lan Xon, messenger of Phaya Then, king of the sky, took a red-hot iron and pierced the gourd. Immediately a crowd of men sprang forth. There were so many that the opening was not large enough to let them through, so larger openings were made with scissors." 173 563

Such is the origin of the two groups of people of Laos. The Khas, who came out of the opening made by the red-hot iron, were blackened by the cinders; the Thais, who came through holes made by scissors, kept their fair complexion.

However original, this charming legend is far from giving us precise information about the first inhabitants of Laos. As a famous scholar has already bitterly remarked, it is the beginnings about which we know the least. Alas, Laos is no exception to this rule. The historian who attempts to retrace the events which have occurred in this country from the origins to the 13th century, at which period documents with substantial proofs are available, finds himself in much the same position as an ant lost in a sieve. The holes are more 127